



THOMAS MORVS. ANGLVS. ♂

An memorem doctum magis, an te More fidelem

An fortem, dubito; nam omnia summa tenes.

Quæ doctrina fuit, pietas quæ pectore in isto

Quem valide ipse subis, exitus edocuit. A 8



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SIR THOMAS MOORE'S

VTOPIA:

CONTAINING,
AN EXCELLENT, LEARNED,
WITTIE, AND PLEASANT
Discourse of the best state of a Publike Weale,
as it is found in the Government of the new
Ile called *Vtopia*.

FIRST WRITTEN IN LATINE,
by the Right Honourable and worthy of all Fame,
SIR THOMAS MOORE, Knight, Lord *Chau-*
cellour of England; And translated into English
by RAPHE ROBINSON, sometime
Fellow of *Corpus Christi Colledge*
in *Oxford*.

*And now after many Impressions, newly Corrected and
purged of all Errors hapned in the
former Editions.*

LONDON,

Printed by Bernard Alsop, dwelling in *Disstaffe lane*
at the Signe of the *Dolphin*.

1624.

ST. THOMAS MOORE'S
UTOPIA:

CONTAINING
AN EXCELLENT LEARNED
WITTED AND PLEASANT
DISCOURSE OF the best frame of a Politike (Velle)
as it is intended in the Government of the new
Isle called Utopia.

FIRST WRITTEN IN LATIN
by the Right Honourable and worthy of all Times
St. Thomas Moore, Knight, Lord Chan-
cellor of England: And translated into English
by RALPH ROBERTSON, sometime
Fellow of Corpus Christi College
in Oxford.

And now after many years, newly corrected and
purged of all errors, published in the
second Edition.

LONDON,
Printed by Bernard Alsop, dwelling in Duffels Lane,
in the signe of the Dolphin.
1634.



TO THE HONOURABLE
descended Gentleman CRESACRE
MORE, of *More-place in North-Mimes*, in the
Countie of *Hertsford*, Esquire ; next in Bloud to
Sir THOMAS MORE, Lord *Chauuncellour of*
England, and Heire to the auncient Familie of the
Cresacres, sometime Lords of the Mannor of
Bamoroug, in the Countie of *Yorke*,
in the time of *Edward*
the first.



Owfoener (in these Wretched daies) the
Dedication of Bookes is growne into a
Wretched respect; Because the Induce-
ments looke a wrie, sometimes from
vertue, pointing at ostentation (which
is grosse,) or at flatterie (which is
more base,) or else at gains, which is
the most sordid of all oither : yet (Worthy Sir) I beseech
you be pleased better to conceine of this present ; for the In-
ducements which haue drawne me to this boldnesse, cary (I
might say a Noble, but I dare be bold to say) an honest coun-
tenance : to omit the excellencie of the Worke (yet vnpara-
leld in that nature) or the noble parts of the more excellent
Authour (whose remembrance is a myrror to all succeeding
Nobilitie) both which might challenge Cæsar for a Patron :
yet when I looke into your Honourable Pedegree, and finde
you the vndoubted heire of his Bloud, me thought it was a
theft

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

theft of the worst nature, to give to another the inheritance of his vertue, and I might as well take from you the Lands of the Honourable and auncient Family of Cresacre (with which God and your right hath endowed you) as bestow upon a stranger this glorious Common-wealth, to which your owne Blood, your Ancestours vertue, and my dutie must necessarily intaile you: This consideration, when you please to take to your memory, I doubt not but it will much lessen my presumption, and you will out of the goodnesse of your owne vertue thinke, since it is my fortune to bestow upon him the new Edition, I could not with good manners) but bring him to kisse the hand of his true owner, wishing that as this Booke is eternall for the vertue, and shall live whilest any Booke hath being: so your name and goodnesse may continue amongst us, ever flourishing and unwithered, so long as the Sunne and Moone endureth:

Your Worships ever to be
commanded,

BERNARD ALSOP.

The Epistle

Thomas Moore to Peter Giles,
sendeth Greeting.



Am almost ashamed, right well-beloued *Peter Giles*, to send vnto you this Booke of the *Vtopian* Common-wealth, wel nigh after a yeaeres space, which I am sure you looked for within a month and a halfe. And no maruell. For you knew well enough, that I was already disburthened of all the labour and study belonging to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no neede at all to trouble my braines about the disposition, or conueyance of the matter: and therefore had herein nothing else to do, but only to rehearse those things which you and I together heard Master *Raphael* tell and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I should study to set forth the matter with eloquence: forasmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, being first not studied for, but sudden and vnpremeditate: and then as you know of a man better scene in the Greeke Language, then in the Latine tongue. And my *Trueth* loweth writing, the nigher it should approach to his homely, plaine, and simple speech, so much the nigher should it goe to the truth: which is the *plaine* only marks, whereunto I doe and ought to distrust all my trauell and study herein. I grant and confesse, friend *Peter*, my selfe discharged of so much labour, hauing all these things done to my hand, that almost there was nothing for me to doe. Else either the inuention, or the disposition of this matter, might haue required of a wit neither base, neither at all vnclearned, both some time and leisure, and also some studie. But it if were requisite, and necessary, that the matter should also haue beene writte eloquently, and not alone truly: of a suertie that thing could I haue performed by no time nor studie. But now seeing all these cares, staies and lets, were taken away, wherein else so much labour and studie should haue beene employed, and that there remained no other thing for me to doe, but only to write plainly the matter as I heard it spoken: that indeed was a thing light and easie to be done. Howbeit to the dispatching of this so little businesse, my other cares and troubles did leaue almost lesse, then no leisure. Whiles I doe daily bestow my time about law matters: some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratour with mine award to determine: some as an vmpire or a Iudge, with my sentence finally to discusse. Whiles I goe one way to see and visit my friend: another way about mine owne priuate affaires. Whiles I spend almost all the day abroad among other, and the residue at home among mine owne: I leaue to my selfe, I meane to my booke, no time. For when I am come home, I must commune with my wife, chat with my children, and talke with my seruantes. All the which things I reckon and account among businesse, forasmuch as they must

*The author's
businesse and
letters.*

The Epistle.

of necessitie be done : and done must they needes be, vnlesse a man will be a stranger in his owne house. And in any wise a man must to fashion and order his conditions, and so appoint and dispose himselfe, that he be merie, iocund and pleasant among them, whom either nature hath provided, or chance hath made, or he himselfe hath chosen to be the followers and companions of his life : so that with too much gentle behaviour and familiaritie, he doe not marre them, and by too much sufferance of his seruants, make them his masters. Among these things now rehearsed, stealeth away the day, the moneth, the yeare. When doe I write then? And all this while haue I spoken no word of sleepe, neither yet of meat, which among a great number doth waste no lesse time, then doth sleepe, wherein almost halfe the life time of man creepeth away. I therefore doe winne and get only that time, which I steale from sleepe and meat. Which time because it is very little, and yet somewhat it is : therefore haue I once at the last, though it be long first, finished *Proptia*, and haue sent it to you, friend *Peter*, to reade and peruse : to the intent that if any thing haue escaped me you might put me in remembrance of it. For though in this behalfe I doe not greatly mistrust my selfe (which would God I were somewhat in wit and learning, as I am not all of the worst and dullest memorie) yet haue I not so great trust and confidence in it, that I thinke nothing could fall out of my minde. For *Iohn Clement* my boy, who as you know was there present with vs, whom I suffered to be away from no talke, wherein may be any profit or goodnesse (for out of this new bladed and shot vp corn, which hath already begun to spring vp, both in Latine and Greeke learning, I looke for plentifull encrease at length of goodly ripe graine) he I say, hath brought me into a great doubt. For whereas *Hythlodius* (vnlesse my memory faile me) said that the Bridge of *Amaurote*, which goeth ouer the River of *Anyder*, is fife hundred paces : that is to say, halfe a mile in length : my *Iohn* saith, that two hundred of those paces must be plucked away ; for that the River containeth there not aboute three hundred paces in breadth. I pray you heauily call the matter to your remembrance. For if you agree with him, I also will say as you say, and confesse my selfe deceiued. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surely I will write as I haue done, and as mine owne remembrance serueth me. For as I will take good heed, that there be in my booke nothing false, so if there be anything doubtful, I will rather tell a lye, then make a lye : because I had rather be good, then wily. Howbeit this matter may easily be remedied, if you will take the paines to aske the question of *Raphael* himselfe by word of mouth, if he be now with you, or else by your letters. Which you must needes doe for another doubt also, that hath chanced, through whose fault I cannot tell : whether through mine, or yours, or *Raphaels*. For neither we remembered to enquire of him, or he to tell vs in what part of the new world *Proptia* is situate. The which thing, I had rather haue spent no small summe of money, then that it should thus haue escaped vs : as well for that I am ashamed to be ignorant in what sea that land standeth, whereof

*Meat and sleepe
great wasters of
time.*

*A dinner time be-
tweene waking
a lye, and tel-
ling a lye.*

*In what part of
the world *Proptia*
standeth, it
is unknowne.*

The Epistle.

whereof I write so long a Treatise, as also because there be with vaine
taine men, especially one voracious and godly man, and a professor of *It is thought of*
Diuinitie, who is exceeding desirous to goe into *Utopia*: not for a vaine *some that here*
and curious desire to see newes, but to the intent he may further and in- *is vnfaignedly*
crease our Religion, which is there already luckely begun. And that *means the late*
he may the better accomplish and performe this his good intent, he is *famous Vicar of*
minded to procure that he may be sent thither by the high Bishop: yea, *Croyden in Sur-*
and that he himselfe be made Bishop of *Utopia*, being nothing scrupulous *vey.*
herein, that he must obaine this Bishopricke with suit, which proce-
deth not of the desire of honour or lucre, but onely of a godly zeale.
Wherefore I most earnestly desire you, friend *Peter*, to talke with *Hyth-*
loday, if you can, face to face, or else to write your letters to him, and
so to worke in this matter, that in this my booke there may neither any
thing be found, which is verue, neither any thing be lacking, which is
true. And I thinke verily it shall be well done, that you shew vnto him
the booke it selfe. For if I haue missed or failed in any point, or if any
fault haue escaped me, no man can so well correct and amend it, as hee
can: and yet that can he not doe, valesse he peruse, and reade over my
booke written: Moreover, by this means shall you perceiue, whether he
be well willing & content, that I should vndertake to put this worke in
writing. For if he be minded to publish and put forth his owne labours
and trauailes himselfe, perchance he would be loth, and so would I also,
that in publishing the *Utopian* weale publique, I should preuent him,
and take him from the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his histo-
rie. Howbeit, to say the verie truth, I am not yet fully determined
with my selfe, whether I will put forth my booke or no. For the na-
tures of men be so diuers, the fantasies of some so wayward, their minds
so vnkinde, their iudgements so corrupt that they which leade a merie
and a iocund life, following their owne sensuall pleasures and carnall
lusts, may seem to be in a much better state or case, then they that vex &
vnquiet themselues with cares & studie, for the putting forth and publi-
shing of som thing, that may be either profit or pleasure to others: which
others neuertheless will disdainefully, scornfully, and vnkindly accept
the same. The most part of all bee vnlearned. And a great number
hath learning in contempt. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing,
but that which is very barbarous indeede. If it be one that hath a litle
smacke of learning, he reiecteth as homely geare and common ware,
whatsoeuer is not stuffed full of old motheaten tearmes, and that bee
worne out of vse. Some there be that haue pleasure onely in old rustic
antiquities. And some onely in their owne doings. One is so sower,
so crabbed, and so vnpleasant, that hee can away with no mirth nor
sport. Another is so narrow betweene the shoulders, that he can beare no
ieasts nor taunts. Some silly poore soules be so afraid, that at every snap-
pish word, their nose shall be bitten off, that they stand in no lesse dread
of every quicke and sharpe word, then he that is bitten of a mad dogge
feareth water. Some be so mutable and wauering, that euery houre
they be in a new minde, saying one thing sitting, and another thing stand-
ding.

*The vnkinde
iudgements of
men.*

The Epistle.

*A fit simile.
sude.*

ding. Another sort sitteth vpon their Ale benches, and there among
their cups they giue iudgement of the wits of writers, and with great au-
thoritie they condemne euen as pleaseth them, euery writer according
to his writing, in most spitefull manner, mocking, lowting and flowing
them: being themselves in the meane season safe, and as saith the Pro-
uerbe, out of all danger of gun-shot. For why, they be so sinngge and
so smooth, that they haue not so much as one heart of an honest man,
whereby one may take hold of them. There be moreover some so vn-
kinde, and vngentle, that though they take great pleasure and delecta-
tion in the worke, yet for all that, they can not finde in their hearts to
loue the Author thereof, nor afford him a good word, being much like
vncourteous, vnthankfull, and churlish guests, which when they haue
with good and daintie meates well filled their bellies, depart home,
giving no thanks to the feast-maker. Go your waies now, and make a
costly feast at your owne charges for guests, so daintie mouthed for di-
uersitie, and besides that of so vnkinde and vnthankfull natures.
But neuerthelesse (friend Peter) doe, I pray you with *Hybloday*, as I
willed you before. And as for this matter I shall be at my libertie, af-
terwards to take new aduisement. Howbeit, seeing I haue taken great
paines and labour in writing the matter, if it may stand with his munde
and pleasure, I will as touching the Edition or publishing of the w
olle I Booke, follow the counsell and aduise of my friends, and spe-
cially yours. Thus farre you well right heartily, below
ued friend Peter, with your gentle wife: and
loue me as you haue euer done, or shall doe
for I loue you better
then euer
I did.

THE



THE
 FIRST BOOKE
 OF THE COMMVNICATION
 Of RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,
 concerning the best State of a
 COMMON-WEALTH.



THE most victorious and trim-
 phant King of *England*, *Henry*
 the eight of that name, in all roy-
 -all vertues, a Prince most peere-
 leise, had of late in controuersie
 with *Charles*, the right high and
 mightie King of *Castile*, weigh-
 tie matters, and of great impor-
 tance. For the debatement and
 finall determination whereof, the Kings Maiestie sent me
 Ambassadour into *Flaunders*, ioyned in commission with
Cuthbert Tunstall, a man doublesse out of comparison, *Cuthbert Tun-*
 and whom the Kings Maiestie of late, to the great reioy- *shall.*
 sing of all men, did preferre to the Office of Master of
 the Rolles.

But of this mans praises I will say nothing, not because
 I doe feare that small credence shall be given to the testi-
 C monie

stimonie that commeth out of a friends mouth : but because his vertue and learning be greater, and of more excellencie, then that I am able to praise them : and also in all places so famous and so perfectly wel known, that they neede not, nor ought not of me to be praised, vnlesse I would seeme to shew and set forth the brightnesse of the Sunne with a Candle, as the Prouerbe saith. There met vs at *Bruges* (for thus it was before agreed) they whom their Prince had for that matter appointed Commissioners : excellent men all. The chiefe and the head of them was the Maregraue (as they call him) of *Bruges*, a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was *George Temisce*, prouost of *Casselles*, a man, not only by learning, but also by nature, of singuler eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned : but in reasoning and debating of matters, what by his naturall wit, and what by daily exercise, surely he had few fellowes. After that we had once or twise met, and vpon certaine points or articles could not fully and thoroughly agree, they for a certaine space tooke their leaue of vs, and departed to *Bruxelle*, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my businesse lay) went straight thence to *Antwerpe*. Whiles I was there abiding, oftentimes among other, but which to me was more welcome then any other, did visit me one *Peter Giles*, a Citizen of *Antwerpe*, a man there in his Countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the highest. For it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learning, or in honestie more excellent. For he is both of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly well learned, and towards all sorts of people exceeding gentle : But towards his friends so kind-hearted, so louing, so faithfull, so trustie, and of so earnest affection, that it were very hard in any place to finde a man, that with him in all points of friendship may be compared. No man can be more lowly or courteous ; no man vnlesse simulation, or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent

Peter Giles.

dent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication so merry and pleasant, yea and that without harme, that through his gentle entertainment, and his sweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the feruent desire that I had to see my natiue Countrie, my wife and my children, whom then I did much long and couet to see : because that at that time I had bene more then foure moneths from them. Vpon a certaine day when I had heard the Diuine Seruice in our Ladies Church, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious Church of building in all the Citie, and also most frequented of people, and the Seruice being done, was ready to goe home to my lodging, I chanced to espy this foresaid *Peter* talking with a capitaine, Stranger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sunne-burned face, a long beard, and a cloake cast homely about his shoulders, whom by his fauour and apparell forthwith I iudged to be a Mariner. But the said *Peter* seeing me, came vnto me and saluted me: And as I was about to answer him : see you this man, saith he (and therewith he pointed to the man, that I saw him talking with before) I was minded, quoth he, to bring him straight home to you. He should haue bene very welcome to me, said I, for your sake. Nay (quoth he) for his owne sake, if you knew him : for there is no man this day liuing, that can tell you of so many strange and vknowne peoples, and Countries, as this man can. And I know well that you be very desirous to heare of such newes. Then I coniectured not farre amisse (quoth I) for even at the first sight, I iudged him to be a Mariner. Nay (quoth he) there ye were greatly deceived : he hath sayled indeed, not as the Mariner *Salomon*, but as the expert and prudent Prince *Ulysses* : Yea, rather as the ancient and sage Philosopher *Plato*. For this same *Raphael Hythloday* (for this is his name) he is very well learmed in the Latine tongue : but profound and excellent in the Greeke language. Wherein he euer bestowed more studie then in the Latine, be-
Raphael Hith-
loday.

cause he had given himselfe wholly to the study of Philosophy. Whereof he knew that there is nothing certaine in Latine, that is to any purpose, sauing a few of *Senecaes*, and *Ciceroes* doings. His patrimonie that he was borne vnto, he left to his brethren (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the desire he had to see, and know the farre Countries of the world, he ioyned himselfe in companie with *Americke Kespice*; and in the three last voyages of those foure that be now in print, and abroad in euery mans hands, he continued still in his company, sauing that in the last voyage he came not home againe with him. For he made such means and shift, what by intreatance, and what by importune suite, that he got licence of Master *Americke* (though it were fore against his will) to be one of the twentie foure, which in the end of the last voyage were left in the Countrie of *Gulike*. He was therefore left behinde for his mind-sake, as one that tooke more thought and care for traueilling, then dying; hauing customably in his mouth these sayings: *He that hath no graue, is covered with the skie*; and, *The way to heauen, out of all places, is of like length and distance*. Which fantasie of his, (if God had not beene his better friend) he had surely bought full deere. But after the departure of Master *Kespice*, when he had trauelled through and about many Countries with fise of his companions *Gulikians*; at the last by meruailous chance he arriued in *Taprobane*, from whence he went to *Caliquit*, where he chaunced to finde certaine of his Countrie ships, wherein he returned againe into his Countrie, nothing lesse then looked for. All this when *Peter* had told me, I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse: that he had vouchsafed to bring me to the speech of that man, whose communication, he thought should be to me pleasant, and acceptable. And therewith I turned me to *Raphael*: And when wee had halfed each other, and had spoken these commune words, that he customably spoken at the first meeting, and acquaintance of strangers, we went thence to my house, and there
in

in my Garden, vpon a bench couered with greene turues; we fate downe talking together. There he told vs, how that after the departing of *Vespucce*, he and his fellowes that tarryed behinde in *Gulicke*, began by little and little, through fayre and gentle speech, to winne the loue and fauour of the people of that Countrey; insomuch that within short space, they did dwell among them, not onely harmelesse, but also occupying with them familiarly. He told vs also, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certaine Great man (whose name and Countrey is now quite out of my remembrance) which of his meere liberalitie, did beare the costs and charges of him and his fiue companions. And besides that, gaue them a trustie guide to conduct them in their iourney (which by water was in Boats, and by land in Wagons), and to bring them to other Princes with very friendly commendations.

Thus after many dayes iournies, he said, they found Townes, and Cities, and Weale publiques, full of people, gouerned by good and holsome Lawes: For vnder the line Equinoctiall, and on both sides of the same, as farre as the Sunne doth extend his course, lyeth (quoth he) great and wide Desarts, and Wildernesles, parched, burned, and dried vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All things be hideous, terrible, loathsome, and vnpleasant to behold: All things out of fashion and comelinesse, inhabited with wilde Beasts, and Serpents; or at the least wise, with people, that be no lesse sauage, wilde, and noysome, then the very beasts themselues be. But a little farther beyond that, all things begin by little and little to waxe pleasant. The Ayre soft, temperate, and gentle: the ground couered with greene grasse: lesse wildnesse in the Beasts. At the last shall yee come to people, Cities, and Townes, wherein is continuall entercourse and occupying of merchandize and chaffare, not onely among themselves, and with their Borderers; but also with Merchants of farre Countreies, both by land and water. There I had occasion (said he) to go to many Countreies on euery side.

Shippes of
strange fash-
ions.

The Lode-
stone.

For there was no ship ready to any voyage or journey, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly receiued. The ships that they found first, were made plaine, flat, and broad in the bottome trough-wise. The sayles were made of great rushes, or of wickers, & in some places of leather. Afterward they found ships with ridged kyles, and sayles of Canuasse: yet, and shortly after, hauing all things like ours. The ship-men also were expert and cunning, both in the Sea, and in the weather. But he said, that he found great fauour and friendship among them, for teaching them the feate and vse of the Lode-stone: which to them before that time was vnknowne. And therefore they were wont to be very timerous and fearefull vpon the sea: Nor to venture vpon it, but only in the Summer time. But now they haue such a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormie Winter: in so doing, farther from care then danger. In so much, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thing, through their owne foolish hardinesse, shall turne them to euill and harme, which at the first was supposed should be to them good and commodious. But what he tolde vs that he saw in euery Countie where he came, it were very long to declare. Neither is it my purpose at this time to make reherfall thereof. But peradventure in another place will I speake of it: chiefly such things as shall be profitable to be knowne: as in speciall be those decrees and ordinances, that he marked to be well and wittily provided and enacted among such peoples, as doe liue together in a ciuill policie, and good order. For of such things did we busily enquire, and demand of him, and he likewise very willingly told vs of the same. But as for monsters, because they be no newes, of them we were nothing inquisitiue. For nothing is more easie to be found, then be barking *Saillies*, rauening *Cy-lens*, and *Lestrigones*, deuourers of people, and such like great and incredible monsters. But to finde Citizens ruled by good and wholesome Lawes, that is an exceeding rare, and hard thing. But as he marked many fond and foolish

foolish Lawes in those new-found Lands; so he rehearsed diuers acts and constitutions, whereby these our Cities, Nations, Countries, and Kingdomes, may take example to amend their faults, enormities and errours. Whereof in another place (as I said) I will intreate. Now at this time I am determined to rehearse only that he told vs of the Maners, Customes, Lawes, and Ordinances of the *Tropians*. But first I will respect our former communication by the occasion, and (as I might say) the drift whereof he was brought into the mention of the Weale Publique: For when *Raphael* had very prudently touched diuers things that be amisse, some here, and some there; yea, very many on both parts; and againe had spoken of such wise Lawes, and prudent Decrees, as be established and vsed, both here among vs, and also among them; as a man so perfect, and expert in the Lawes, and Customes of euery seuerall Countrie, as though into what place soeuer he came guest-wise, there he had led all his life: then *Peter* much meruailing at the man; Surely Master *Raphael* (quoth he) I wonder greatly, why you get you not into some Kings Court: For I am sure, there is no Prince liuing, that would not be very glad of you, as a man not only able highly to delight him with your profound learning, and this your knowledge of Countries, and peoples, but also meet to instruct him with examples, and help him with counsell. And thus doing, you shall bring your selfe in a very good case, and also be of abilitie to help all your friends and kinsfolke. As concerning my friends and kinsfolke (quoth he) I passe not greatly for them: For I thinke I haue sufficiently done my part towards them already. For these things, that other men do not depart from, vntill they be old and sicke; yea, which they be then very loath to leaue, when they can no longer keepe, those very same things did I being not onely lusty, and in good health, but also in the flowre of my youth, deuide among my friends and kinsfolkes. Which I thinke with this my liberalitie ought to hold them contented.

tented, and not to require nor to looke that besides this,
 I should for their sakes giue my selfe in bondage vnto
 Kings. Nay, God forbid that (quoth *Peter*) it is not
 my minde that you should be in bondage to Kings, but as
 a retainer to them at your pleasure. Which surely I thinke
 is the highest way that you can deuise how to bestow
 your time fruitfully, not onely for the priuate commo-
 ditie of your friends, and for the generall profit of all
 sorts of people, but also for the aduancement of your selfe
 to a much wealthier state and condition, then you be now
 in. To a wealthier condition (quoth *Raphael*) by that
 meanes, that my minde standeth cleane against? Now I
 lue at liberty after mine owne minde and pleasure, which
 I thinke very few of these great States, and Peeres of
 Realmes can say. Yea, and there be enough of them that
 sue for great mens friendships: and therefore thinke it no
 great hurt, if they haue not me, nor third or fourth such
 other as I am. Well, I perceiue plainly friend *Raphael*
 (quoth I) that you be desirous neither of riches, nor of
 power. And truly I haue in no lesse reuerence and estima-
 tion a man of your minde, then any of them all that be so
 high in power and authoritie: But you shall doe as it be-
 commeth you; yea, and according to this wisdome, to
 this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in
 your heart, so to appoint and dispose your selfe, that you
 may apply your wit and diligence to the profit of the
 Weale publique, though it be somewhat to your owne
 paine and hinderance. And this shall you neuer so well
 doe, nor with so great profit performe, as if you be of
 some great Princes counsell, and put into his head (as I
 doubt not but you will) honest opinions, and vertuous
 perswasions: For from the Prince, as from a perpetuall
 well-spring, commeth among the people the fount of all
 that is good or euill. But in you is so perfect learning,
 that without any experience, and againe, so great experi-
 ence that without any learning you may well be any Kings
 Counsellour. You be twise deceiued Master *More*
 (quoth

(quoth he) first in mee, and againe in the thing it selfe : for neither is in me the abilitie that you force vpon me; and if it were neuer so much, yet in disquieting mine own quietnesse I should nothing further the Weale publike. For first of all, the most part of all Princes haue more delight in warlike matters, and feates of chiuallrie (the knowledge whereof I neither haue nor desire) then in the good feates of peace : and imploy much more studie, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their Dominions, then how well, and peaceably to rule, and gouerne that they haue already. Moreover, they that be counsellers to kings, euery one of them either is of himselfe so wise, indeede that he needeth not, or else he thinketh himself so wise, that he will not allow another mans counsell, sauing that they do shamefully, and flatteringly, giue assent to the fond and foolish sayings of certaine great men : whose fauours, because they be in high authoritie with their Prince, by assentation and flatterie they labour to obtaine. And verely it is naturally giuen to all men to esteeme their owne inuentious best : So both the Rauens and the Ape thinke their owne young ones fairest. Then if a man in such a company, where some disdain and haue despight, at other mens inuentions, and some count their owne best ; if among such men (I say) a man should bring forth any thing, that he hath read done in times past, or that he hath seen done in other places; there the hearers, far as though the whole existimation of their wisdom were in ieopardie to be ouerthrowne, and that euer after they should be counted for very desarts, vnlesse they could in other mens inuentions picke out matter to reprehend, and finde fault at. If all other poore helps faile : then this is their extreame refuge. These things (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncestors : would God we could be so wise as they were : and as though they had wittily concluded the matter, and with this answer stopped euery mans mouth, they sit downe againe. As who should say, it were a very dangerous matter, if a man in any point should be

Trip-takers.

Parciall iudge-
ments.

Cardinall
Morton.

found wiser then his fore-fathers were. And yet be we content to suffer the best and wittiest of their Decrees to lye vnexecuted : but if in any thing a better order might haue beene taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, finding therein many faults. Many times haue I chanced vpon such proude, lewd, oser-thwart, and wayward iudgements : yea (and once) in *England* : I pray you sir (quoth I) haue you beene in our Countrie ? Yea forsooth (quoth he) and there I tarried for the space of foure or fime moneths together, not long after the insurrection, that the Westerne English men made against their king, which by their owne miserable and pitifull slaughter, was suppressed and ended. In the meane season, I was much bound and beholding to the right reuerend Father, *John Morton*, Arch-bishop and Cardinall of *Canterburie*, and at that time also Lord Chauncellour of *England* ; a man, Master *Peter* (for Master *More* knoweth already that I will say) not more honourable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his body vpright.

In his face did shine such an amiable reuerence, as was pleasant to behold. Gentle in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delight many times with rough speech to his suiters, to proue, but without harme, what prompt wit, & what bold spirit were in euery man. In the which as in a vertue much agreeing with his nature, so that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he tooke great delectation. And the same person, as apt and meet to haue an administration in the Weale publike, he did louingly embrace. In his speech he was fine, eloquent and pithie. In the Law, he had profound knowledge ; in wit, he was incomparable ; and in memory, wonderfull excellent. These qualities, which in him were by nature singuler, he by learning and vse had made perfect. The king put much trust in his counsell, the Weale publike also in a maner leaned vnto him, when I was there : For euen in the chiefe of his youth he was taken from Schoole into the Court, and there

there passed all his time in much trouble and businesse, being continually tumbled and tossed in the waues of diuers misfortunes and aduersities. And so by many and great dangers, he learned the experience of the world, which so being learned, cannot easily be forgotten. It chanced on a certaine day, when I sate at his table, there was also a certaine lay man, cunning in the Laws of your Realme: Who, I cannot tel, whereof taking occasion, began diligently and earnestly to praise that strait and rigorous iustice, which at that time was there executed vpon felonies; who as he said, were for the most part twenty hanged together vpon one gallowes. And, seeing so few escaped punishment, he said he could not choose, but greatly wonder and meruaile, how and by what euill luck it should so come to passe, that theeuers neuertheless were in euery place so rife and so rancke. Nay sir quoth I (for I durst boldly speake my minde, before the Cardinall) meruaile nothing hereat: for this punishment of theeuers passeth the limits of Iustice, and is also very hurtfull to the Weale publike: For it is too extreame and cruell a punishment for theft, and yet not sufficient to refraine and withhold men from theft: for simple theft is not so great an offence, that it ought to be punished with death; neither there is any punishment so horrible, that it can keepe them from stealing, which haue none other craft, whereby to get their liuing. Therefore in this point, not you only, but also the most part of the world be like euil Schoolemasters, which be readier to beat, then to teach their scholers. For great & horrible punishments be appointed for theeuers, whereas much rather, prouision should haue bin made, that there were some means, whereby they might get their liuing, so that no man should be driuen to this extreame necessitie; first to steale, and then to die. Yes (quoth he) this matter is well enough provided for already. There be handy-crafts, there is husbandry to get their liuing, if they would not willingly be nought. Nay, quoth I, you shall not scape so: for first of all, I will speake nothing of them, that come home out of the wars,

Of lawes not made according to equitie.

By what meanes there might be fewer theeuers and robbers.

maimed and lame, as not long agoe, out of Blacke-heath field, and a little before that, out of the warres in *France*: such I say, as put their liues in ieopardie for the Weale publiques, or the Kings sake, and by reason of weake-nesse and lamenesse be not able to occupy their old crafts, and be to aged to learne new: of them I will speake nothing, forasmuch as warres haue their ordinary recourse. But let vs consider those things that chance daily before our eyes. First there is a great number of Gentlemen, which cannot become it, to liue idle themselves, like dorrers, of that which other haue laboured for: their tenants I meane, whom they poll and shauie to the quicke, by raising their rents (for this onely point of frugahitie doe they vse, men else through their lauasse and prodigall spending, able to bring themselves to very beggerie) these Gentlemen, I say, doe not onely liue in idlenesse themselves, but also carry about with them at their tailes, a great flocke or traine of idle and loitering Seruing-men, which neuer learned any craft, whereby to get their liuings. These men as soone as their Master is dead, or be sicke themselves, be incontinent thrust out of dores: for Gentlemen had rather keepe idle persons, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heire is not able to maintain so great a house, and keepe so many Seruing-men as his father did. Then in the meane season, they that be thus destitute of seruice, either starue for hunger, or manfully play the theeuers: For what would you haue them to doe? When they haue wandred abroad so long, vntill they haue worne threed-bare their apparell, and also appaired their health; then Gentlemen, because of their pale and sickly faces, and patched coates, will not take them into seruice. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: knowing well enough that he is nothing meeete to doe true and faithfull seruice to a poore man with a Spade and Mattocke for small wages and hard fare, which being daintily and tenderly pampered vp in idlenesse and pleasure, was wont with a sword and a buckler by his side, to iette through the

Idlenesse, the
mother of
theeuers.

Landlords by
the way chec-
ked for Rent
raising.

Of Idle ser-
uingmen come
theeuers.

the streete with a bragging looke, and to thinke himseffe too good to be any mans mate. Nay by Saint *Mary* sir (quoth the Lawyer) not so : For this kinde of men must we make most of ; For in them as men of stouter stomacks, bolder spirits, and manlyer courages, then handy-crafts men and ploughmen be, doth consist the whole power strength, and puissance of our armie, when we must fight in battaile. Forsooth sir, as well you might say (quoth I) that for warres sake you must cherish theeves : For surely you shall neuer lacke theeves, whiles you haue them. No nor theeves be not the most false and faint-hearted souldiours, nor souldiours be not the cowardliest theeves : so well these two crafts agree together. But this fault, though it be much vsed among you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but common also almost to all nations. Yet *France* besides this is troubled and infected with a much sorer plague. The whole Realme is filled and besieged with hired souldiours in peace time (if that be peace) which be brought in vnder the same colour and pretence, that hath perswaded you to keepe these idle seru-ingmen. For these wise-fooles, & very arch-doles, thought the wealth of the whole Countrie herein to consist, if there were euer in a readinesse a strong and a sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours; for they put no trust at all in men vnexercised. And therefore they must be forced to seeke for warre, to the end they may euer haue practised souldiours, and cunning man-slayers, least that (as it is pretily said of *Salust*) their hands and their minds through idlenesse or lacke of exercise, should waxe dull.

Betweene soul-
diours and
theeves small
differēcie.

But how pernicious and pestilent a thing it is, to main-
taine such beasts, the Frenchmen, by their owne harmes
haue learned, and the examples of the Romanes, Cartha-
ginians, Syrians, and of many other Countries doe mani-
festly declare: For not only the Empire, but also the fields
and Cities of all these, by diuers occasions haue beene o-
nerrunne and destroyed of their owne armies, before-
hand had in a readinesse. Now how vnecessary a thing

What incon-
ueniences cometh by con-
tinuall garrisons of souldi-
ours.

this is, hereby it may appeare: that the French souldiours, which from their youth haue beene practised and inured in feates of armes, doe not cracke or aduance themselves to haue very often got the vpper hand and mastery of your new-made and vnpractised souldiours. But in this point I will not vse many words, lest perchance I may seeme to flatter you. No, nor those same handy-craft men of yours in Cities, nor yet the rude and vplandish ploughmen of the Countrie, are not supposed to be greatly afraid of your Gentlemens idle seruingmen, vnlesse it be such as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage; or else whose bold stomackes be discouraged through pouertie. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared lest they should be effeminated, if they were brought vp in good crafts and laboursome workes, whereby to get their liuings, whose stout and sturdie bodies (for Gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupt and spill none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weakenesse: or else by too easie and womanly exercises be made feeble, and vnable to endure hardnesse. Truly howsoever the case standeth, this me thinketh is nothing auailable to the Weale publike, for warre sake, which you neuer haue, but when you will your selues, to keepe and maintaine an vnnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and noyous in peace, whereof you ought to haue a thousand times more regard, then of warre. But yet this is not only the necessarie cause of stealing. There is another, which as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quoth the Cardinall? forsooth my Lord (quoth I) your sheepe, that were wont to be so meeke and tame, and so small eaters; now, as I heare say, be become so great deuourers, and so wilde, that they eat vp, and swallow downe the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and deuour whole fields, houses, and Cities: For looke in what parts of the Realme doth grow the finest, and therefore dearest Wooll, there
noble

English sheepe
deuourers of
men.

noble men, & gentlemen, yea, & certain Abbots, holy men no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues, and profits, that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessours of their lands, nor being content that they liue in rest and pleasure, nothing profiting; yea, much noying the Weale publike, leaue no ground for tillage: they inclose all into pastures; they throw downe houses; they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing standing, but onely the Church to be made a sheep-house. And as though you lost no small quantitie of ground by Forrests, chases, lands, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwelling places and all glebe land into desolation, and wildernesse.

Therefore that one couetous and vnsatiable cormorant, Sheep-masters and very plague of his natiue Countrie, may compasse about and inclose many thousands akers of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their owne, or else either by couine and fraude, or violent oppression they be put besides it, or by wrongs and iniuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therefore or by other, either by hooke or by crooke they must needs depart away, poore, fillie, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wiues, fatherlesse children, widdowes, wofull mothers with their young babes, and the whole household small in substance, and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands.

Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household stuffe, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale: yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abroad till that be spent, what can they the doe but steale, and then iustly pardie be hanged, or else goe about a begging. And yet then also they be cast into Prison as Vagabonds, because they goe about and worke not whom no man will set a worke, though they neuer so willingly proffer themselves thereto. For one Shep-

decayers of
husbandry.

The decay of
husbandry
canseth begger-
ry, which is the
mother of va-
gabonds and
theeves.

heard

The cause of
dearth of vi-
ctuals,

What in con-
uenience com-
meth of dearth
of Wooll,

The cause of
dearth of
Wooll,

Dearth of cat-
tell, with the
cause thereof.

heard or Heardman is enough to eat vp that ground with cattaille, to the occupying wherof, about husbandry, many hands were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wooll is so risen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloath thereof, be now able to buy none at all. And by this meanes very many be forced to forsake worke, and to giue themselves to idlenesse.

For after that so much ground was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of sheepe died of the rot, such vengeance God tooke of their inordinate and vsfaciable couctousnesse, sending among the sheepe that pestiferous murrein, which much more iustly should haue fallen on the sheep-masters owne heads. And though the number of sheepe increase neuer so fast, yet the price falleth not one mite, because there be so few sellers: For they be almost all come into a few rich mens hands, whom no need forceth to sell before they lust, and they lust not before they may sell as deare as they lust. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the dearth of the other kindes of cattrell, yea and that so much the more, because that after farmes plucked downe, and husbandry decaied, there is no man that passeth for the breeding of young store: for these rich men bring not vp the young ones of great cattell as they doe lambes.

But first they buy them abroad very cheape, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them againe exceeding deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felt: for yet they make dearth onely in those places, where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred faster then they can be bought vp: then shall there also be felt great dearth, store beginning there to faile, where the ware is bought. Thus the vnreasonable couctousnesse of a few hath turned that thing to the vtter vndoing of your Island, in the which thing the chiefe felicitie of your Realme did consist: For this great dearth of victuals

victuals causeth men to keepe as little houses, and as small hospitalitie as they possible may, and to put away their seruants: whither, I pray you, but a begging; or else (which these gentle blouds, and stout stomacks, will sooner let their mindes vnto stealing? Now to amend the matter, to this wretched beggerie, and miserable pouerty, is ioyned great wantonnesse, importunate superfluitie, and excessiue riot: For not only gentlemens seruants, but also handycraft men; yea, and almost the Ploughmen of the Countrey, with all other sorts of people, vse much strange and proud new-fangles in their apparell, and too much prodigall riot, and sumptuous fare at their table.

Now baudes, queanes, whores, harlots, strumpets, brothel-houses, stewes; and yet another stews, wine-tauerns, ale-houses, and tipling houses, with so many naughty, leud, and vnlawfull games; as dice, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all these send the haunTERS of them straight a stealing, when there money is gone? cast out these pernicious abominations, make a law, that they, which plucked downe farmes, and townes of husbandry, shall reedifie them, or else yeeld, and vprender the possession thereof to such, as will goe to the cost of building them anew.

Suffer not these rich men to buy vp all, to incrosse, and forestall, and with their monopolie to keep the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought vp in idlenesse; let husbandrie and tillage be restored; let cloth-working be renewed, that there may be honest labours for this idle sort to passe their time in profitably, which hitherto either pouerty hath caused to be theeuers, or else now be either vagabonds, or idle seruing men, and shortly will be theeuers. Doubtlesse, vnlesse you finde a remedie for these enormities, you shall in vaine aduance your selues of executing iustice vpon fellows: For this iustice is more beautifull in appearance, and more flourishing to the shew, then either iust or profitable: For by suffering your youth wantonly, and viciously to be brought vp, and to be infected, even from their tender age, by little and little with

Dearth of victuals is the decay of house-keeping; whereof ensueth beggerie and theft.

Excesse in apparell and diet, a maintainer of beggery and theft.

Bauds, whores, wine-tauernes, ale-houses, and vnlawfull games, be very mothers of theeuers.

Richmen incrosse and forestallers.

The corrupt education of youth, a mother of theeuerie.

vice : then a Gods name to be punished, when they commit the same faults after being come to mans state, which from their youth they were euer like to doe. In this point, I pray you, what other thing doe you, then make theeues, and then punish them ? Now as I was thus speaking, the Lawyer began to make himselfe ready to answer, and was determined with himselfe, to vse the common fashion, and trade of disputers, which be more diligent in rehearsing, then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chiefe praise. Indeed sir, quoth he, you haue said well, being but a stranger, and one that might rather heare something of these matters, then haue any exact or perfect knowledge of the same, as I will incontinent by open prooffe make manifest and plaine. For first I will rehearse in order all that you haue said : then I will declare wherein you be deceiued, through lacke of knowledge, in all our fashions, manners, and customes : and last of all, I will answer your arguments, and confute them euery one. First therefore I will begin where I promised. Foure things you seemed to me. Hold your peace, quoth the Cardinall : for it appeareth that you will make no short answer, which make such a beginning : Wherefore at this time, you shall not take the paines to make your answer, but keepe it to your next meeting, which I would be right glad, that it might be to morrow next, vnlesse either you, or Master *Raphael* haue earnest let. But now Master *Raphael*, I would very gladly heare of you, why you thinke theit not worthy to be punished with death, or what other punishment you can deuise more expedient to the Weale publike ? For I am sure that you are not of that minde, that you would haue thest escape unpunished. For if now the extreame punishment of death cannot cause them to leaue stealing, then if ruffians and robbers should be sure of their liues, what violence, what feare, were able to hold their hands from robbing ; which would take the mittigation of the punishment, as a very prouocation to the mischief. Surely my Lord,

He is worthily
put to silence
that is too full
of words.

That thest
ought not to
be punished
by death.

I thinke it not right nor iustice, that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans life : For mine opinion is, that all the goods in the world are not able to counteruaile mans life.

But if they would thus say ; that the breaking of Iustice, and the transgression of lawes is recompenced with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why may not this extreame and rigorous iustice well be called plaine iniurie ? For so cruell gouernance, so strait rules, and vnmercifull lawes be not allowable, that if a small offence bee committed, by and by the sword should be drawne: Nor so stoicall ordinances are to be borne withall, as to count all offences of such equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the taking of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offence then the other : betweene the which two, if we haue any respect to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commandeth vs that we shall not kill. And be we then so hastie to kill a man for taking a little money ? And if a man would vnderstand killing by this commandment of God, to be forbidden after no larger wise, then mans constitutions define killing to be lawfull ; then why may it not likewise by mans constitutions be determined after what sort whoredome, fornication, and periurie may be lawfull ? For whereas by the permission of God, no man neither hath power to kill neither himselfe, nor yet any other man : then if a law made by the consent of men, concerning slaughter of men, ought to be of such strength, force, & vertue, that they which contrarie to the commandment of God haue killed those, whom this constitution of man commanded to be killed, be cleane quit and exempt out of the bonds and danger of Gods commandment : shall it not then by this reason follow, that the power of Gods commandment shal extend no further, then mans law doth define, and permit ? And so shall it come to passe, that in like manner, mans constitutions in all things shal determine how far the obseruation of all Gods

Strait Lawes
not allowable.

That mans law
ought not to
be preiudiciall
to Gods law.

Theft in the
old law not
punished by
death.

What incon-
uenience ensu-
eth of puni-
shing theft
with death.

Punishing of
theft by death
causeth theft
to be a mur-
derer.

What lawfull
punishment
may be deu-
ised for theft.
How the Ro-
manes puni-
shed theft.

commandements shall extend. To be short, *Moses Law*, though it were vngentle and sharpe, as a law that was giuen to bondmen, yea, and them very obstinate, stubborne, and stiffe-necked: yet it punished theft by the purse, and not with death. And let vs not thinke that God in the new law of clemencie and mercie, vnder the which he ruleth vs with fatherly gentlenesse, as his deare children hath giuen vs greater scope and licence to the execution of crueltie, one vpon another. Now ye haue heard the reasons, wherby I am perswaded, that this punishment is vnlawfull. Furthermore, I thinke that there is no body that knoweth not, how vreasonable, yea, how pernicious a thing it is to the Weale publike, that a theefe and an homicide or murderer, should suffer equall and like punishment: For the theefe seeing that man, that is condemned for theft in no lesse ieopardie, nor iudged to no lesse punishment, then him that is conuict of manslaughter; through this cogitation onely, he is strongly and forcibly prouoked, and in a manner constrained to kill him, whom else he would haue but robbed: For the murder being once done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hope that the deed shall not be bewrayed or knowne, seeing the partie is now dead, and rid out of the way, which onely might haue vttered and disclosed it.

But if he chance to be taken and discried; yet he is in no more danger and ieopardie, then if he had committed but single felonie. Therefore whiles we goe about with such crueltie to make theeuers afraid, we prouoke them to kill good men. Now as touching this question, what punishment were more commodious and better: that truly in my iudgement is easier to be found, then what punishment might be worse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and profitable way for the punishment of offenders, which we know did in times past so long please the Romanes, men in the administration of a Weale publike most expert, politique and cunning? Such as among them were conuict of great and heynous trespasses, them

them they condemne into stone quarries, and into mines to digge mettall; there to be kept in chaines all the daies of their life. But as concerning this matter, I follow the ordinance of nation so well as that which I saw, whiles I trauelled abroad about the world, vsed in *Persia* among the people that commonly be called the Polylerites: whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittily gouerned; and the people in all conditions free, and ruled by their owne lawes, sauing that they pay a yearly tribute to the great King of *Persia*.

A worthy and commendable punishment of theues in the Weale publike of the Polilerites in *Persia*.

But because they be farre from the sea, compassed and inclosed, almost round about with high mountaines, and doe content themselves with the fruits of their own land, which is of it selfe very fertill and fruitfull: for this cause neither they goe to other Countries, nor other come to them. And according to the old custome of the Land, they desire not to enlarge the bounds of their Dominions: and those that they haue, by reason of the high hills be easily defended: and the tribute which they pay to their chiefe Lord and King, setteth them quit and free from war-fare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallant, and may better be called happy or wealthy, then notable and famous: For they be not knowne, as much as by name, I suppose sauing onely to their next neighbours and borders: They that in this Land be attained and convicted of felonie, make restitution of that which they stole, to the right owner: and not (as they doe in other lands) to the King: whom they thinke to haue no more right to the theefe-stolen thing, then the theefe himselfe hath. But if the thing be lost or made away, then the value of it is paid of the goods of such offenders, which else remaine h all whole to their wiues, and children. And they themselues be condemned to be common laborers, and only the theft be very hainous, they be neither locked in prison, nor fettered in giues, but be vnited and goe at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or goe slowly or slacke to their worke, be not

A priuie nip for them that doe otherwise.

Theeues condemned to be common labourers.

onely tyed in chaines, but also pricked forward with stripes. But being diligent about their worke, they liue without checke or rebuke. Euery night they be called in by name, and be locked in their chambers. Beside their daily labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious; their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the Weale publike; because they be common seruants to the Common-wealth. But their charges in all places of the land is not borne alike. For in some parts, that which is bestowed vpon them is gathered of almes. And though that way be vncertaine; yet the people be so full of mercie and pittie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In some places certaine Ladies be appointed hereunto: of the reuenues whereof they be maintained. And in some places euery man giueth a certaine tribute for the same vse and purpose.

Seruimgmen.

Againe, in some parts of the land these seruimgmen (for so be these damned persons called) doe not common worke, but as euery priuate man needeth labours, so he commeth into the market place, and there hireth some of them for meat and drinke, and a certain limited wages by the day, somewhat cheaper then he should hire a free man. It is also lawfull for them to chastice the slouth of these seruimgmen with stripes. By this meanes they neuer lack worke, and besides the gaining of their meat and drinke, euery one of them bringeth daily something into the common Treasury. All and euery one of them be apparelled in one colour. Their heads be not polled or shauen, but rounded a little about the eares. And the tip of the one eare is cut off. Euery one of them may take meate and drinke of their friends, and also a coat of their owne colour: but to receiue money is death, as well to the giuer, as to the receiuer. And no lesse ieopardie it is for a free man to receiue money of a seruimgman, for any manner of cause: and likewise for seruimgmen to touch weapons. The seruimgmen of euery seuerall shire be distinct and knowne from other, by their seuerall and distinct badges: which

which to cast away is death: as it is also to be seene out of the precinct of their owne shiere; or to talke with a seruingman of another shiere. And it is no lesse danger to them, for to intend to runne away, then to doe it indeed.

Yea and to conceale such an enterprise in a seruingman, it is death; in a freeman, seruitude. Of the contrary part, to him that openeth and vttereth such counsels, be decreed large gifts: to a free man, a great summe of money; to a seruingman freedome: and to them both, forgiveness and pardon of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can neuer be so good for them to goe forward in their euill purpose, as by repentance to turne backe. This is the Law and order in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you: Wherein what humanitie is vsed, how farre it is from crueltie, and how commodious it is, you doe plainly perceiue. For as much as the end of their wrath and punishment intendeth nothing else, but the destruction of vices, and sauing of men: with so vsing, and ordering them, that they cannot chuse but be good; and what harme soeuer they did before, in the residue of their life, to make amends for the same.

An euill entent
esteemed as
the deed.

The right end
and intent of
punishment.

Moreouer it is so little feared, that they should turne again to their vicious conditions, that wayfaring men will for their safeguard choose them to their guides before any other, in euery shiere changing and taking new: For if they would commit robbery, they haue nothing about them meete for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money found about them, should betray the robbery. They should be no sooner taken with the manner, but forthwith they should be punished. Neither can they haue any hope at all to scape away by flying: For how should a man, that in no part of his apparell is like other men, flye priuily and vnknowne, vnlesse he would runne away naked? Howbeit, so also flying, he should be discried by the rounding of his head, and his eare-marke. But it is a thing to be doubted, that they will lay their heads together, and conspire against the Weale publike.

No,

No, no, I warrant you : For the seruingmen of one shiere alone, could neuer hope to bring to passe such an enterprife, without solyciting, entising, and alluring the seruingmen of many other shieres to take their parts. Which thing is to them so impossible, that they may not as much as speake or talke together, or salute one another. No it is not to be thought that they would make their owne countrymen and companions of their counsell in such a matter, which they know well should be ieopardie to the concealor thereof, and great commoditie and goodnesse to the opener and detektor of the same. Whereas on the other part, there is none of them all hopelesse or in despaire to recouer againe his former estate of freedome, by humble obedience, by patient suffering, and by giuing good tokens and likelyhood of himselfe, that he will euer after that, liue like a true, and an honest man.

For every yeare diuers of them be restored to their freedome, through the commendation of patience. When I had thus spoken, saying moreouer, that I could see no cause why this order might not be had in *England*, with much more profit, then the iustice which the lawyer so highly praised. Nay, quoth the Lawyer, this could neuer be so stablished in *England*, but that it must needs bring the Weale publike into great ieopardie and hazard. And as he was thus saying, he shaked his head, and made a wrie mouth, and so he held his peace. And all that were present, with one assent agreed to his saying. Well, quoth the Cardinall, yet it were hard to iudge without a prooffe, whether this order would doe well here or no. But when the sentence of death is giuen, if then the King should command execution to be referred and spared, and would proue this order and fashion, taking away the priuiledge of Sanctuaries: if then the prooffe should declare the thing to be good and profitable, then it were well done that it were stablished : Else then condemned and reprimed persons may as well be put to death after this prooffe, as when they were first cast. Neither any ieopardie can in the

the meane space grow hereof. Yea, and me thinketh that these Vagabonds may very well be ordered after the same Vagabonds, fashion, against whom we haue hitherto made so many lawes, and so little preuailed. When the Cardinall had thus said, then euery man gaue great praise to my sayings, which a little before they had disallowed. But most of all was esteemed that which was spoken of vagabonds, because it was the Cardinals addition. I cannot tell whether it were best to rehearse the communication that followed; for it was not very sad. But yet you shall heare it, for there was no euill in it, and partly it pertained to the matter before said. There chaunced to stand by a certaine ieasting Parasite, or scoffer, which would seeme to resemble and counterfet the foole. But he did in such wise counterfet, that he was almost the very same indeed that he laboured to represent: he so studied with words & sayings, brought forth so out of time and place, to make sport and more laughter, that he himselfe was oftner laughed at, then his ieasts were. Yet the foolish fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuffe, that he made the prouerbe true, which saith: He that shooteth oft, at the last shall hit the marke: So that when one of the companie said, that through my communication, a good order was found for theeues, and that the Cardinall also had well provided for vagabonds, so that only remained some good prouision to be made for them that through sicknesse and age were fallen into pouerty, & were become so impotent and vnweldie, that they were not able to worke for their liuing. Tush (quoth he) let me alone with them: you shall see me doe well enough with them. For I had rather than any good, that this kinde of people were driuen somewhere out of my sight; they haue so sore troubled me many times and oft, when they haue with their lamentable teares begged mony of me: & yet they could neuer to my mind so tune their song, that thereby they euer got of me one farthing. For euer more the one of these chanced: either that I would not, or else

The waucring
iudgements of
flatterers.

Sicke, aged, im-
potent persons,
and beggers.

A common
prouerbe a-
mong beggers.

that I could not, because I had it not. Therefore now they be waxed wise: For when they seeme goe by, because they will not leese their labour, they let me passe, and say not one word to me. So they looke for nothing of me, no in good sooth; no more, then if I were a Priest, or a Monke. But I will make a Law, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shall be made lay brethren, as they call them; and the women, Nunnes. Hereat the Cardinall smiled, and allowed it in iest, yea, and all the residue in good earnest.

A merry talke
betweene a
Friar and a
foole.

But a certaine Frier, graduate in diuinitie, tooke such pleasure and delight in this iests of Priests and Monkes, that he also (being else a man of grisslie and sterne grauitie) began merrily and wantonly to iest and taunt. Nay, quoth he, you shall not so be rid and dispatched of beggers, vnlesse you make some prouision also for vs Friars. Why, quoth the iester, that is done already, for my Lord himselfe set a very good order for you, when he decreed, that vagabonds should be kept strait, & set to work: for you be the greatest and veriest vagabonds that be. This iest also when they saw the Cardinall not disproue it, euery man tooke it gladly, sauing only the Friar: For he (and that no meruaile) being thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fretted, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chiding, scolding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow ribbald, villaine, iauell, backbiter, slaunderer, and the childe of perdition: citing therewith terrible threatnings out of holy Scripture. Then the iesting scoffer began to play the scoffer indeede, and verily he was good at that; for he could play a part in that play, no man better. Patient your selfe, good Master Fryar, quoth he, and be not angry; for Scripture saith: In your patience

Talke qualified
according to
the person that
speaketh.

you shall saue your soules. Then the Friar (for I will rehearse his owne very words:) No gallowes wretch, I am not angry (quoth he) or at the least-wise, I doe not sinne: for the Psalmist saith; Be you angry, and sinne not.

Then

Then the Cardinall spake gently to the Fryar, and desired him to quiet himselfe. No my Lord, quoth he, I speake not but of a good zeale as I ought ; for holy men had a good zeale : Wherefore it is said ; The zeale of thy house hath eaten me. And it is sung in the Church : The scorner of *Helizeus*, whiles he went vp into the house of God, felt the zeale of the bald, as peradventure this scorning villain ribbould shall feele. You do it (quoth the Cardinall) perchance of a good minde and affection : but me thinketh you should doe, I cannot tell whether more holily, certes more wisely, if you would not set your wit to a fooles wit, and with a foole take in hand a foolish contention. No forsooth my Lord (quoth he) I should not do more wisely : for *Salomon* the wise saith : Answer a foole according to his folly, like as I do now, and do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, if he take not heed : For if many scornors of *Helizeus*, which was but one bald man, felt the zeale of the bald, how much more shall one scorner of many Friars feele, among whom be many bald men ? And wee haue also the Popes Buls, whereby all that mock and scorn vs be excommunicated, suspended, and accursed The Cardinall seeing no end would be made, sent away the leaster by a priuie becke, and turned the communication to another matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, hee went to heare his suitors, and so dismissed vs. Looke Master *Moore*, with how long and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which surely I would haue beene ashamed to haue done, but that you so earnestly desired mee, and did after such a sort giue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcell of that communication should be left out. Which though I haue done somewhat briefly, yet could I not choose but rehearse it, for the iudgement of them, which when they had improued and disallowed my sayings, yet incontinent hearing the Cardinall allow them, did themselves also approue the same: so impudently flattering him, that they were nothing ashamed to admit, yea almost in good earnest, his ieaasures & foolish inuentions:

because that he himselfe by smiling at them, did seeme not to disprove them. So that hereby you may right-well perceiue how little the courtiers would regard and esteeme me and my sayings. I ensure you, Master *Raphael*, quoth I, I tooke great delectation in hearing you: all things that you said, were spoken so wittily and so pleasantly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onely at home in my Countrey, but also through the pleasant remembrance of the Cardinal, in whose house I was brought vp of a childe, to waxe a childe againe. And friend *Raphael*, though I did beare very great loue towards you before, yet seeing you doe so earnestly fauour this man, you will not beleue how much my loue towards you is now increased. But yet, all this notwithstanding, I can by no meanes change my mind, but that I must needs beleecue, that you, if you be disposed, and can finde in your heart to follow some Princes Court, shall with your good counsels greatly help and further the Common-wealth. Wherefore there is nothing more appertaining to your duty, that is to say, to the dutie of a good man. For whereas your *Plato* iudgeth that weale publikes shall by this means attaine perfect felicitie, either if Philosophers be Kings, or else if Kings giue themselues to the study of Philosophie; how far I pray you, shall common-wealths then be from this felicity, if Philosophers wil vouchsafe to instruct kings with their good counsell? They be not so vnkind (quoth he) but they would gladly do it, yea, many haue done it already in books that they haue put forth, if Kings & Princes would be willing and ready to follow good counsell. But *Plato* doubtlesse did well fore-see, vnlesse Kings themselves would apply their mindes to the studie of Philosophy, that else they would neuer thorowly allow the counsell of Philosophers, being themselves before euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerse and euill opinions. Which thing *Plato* himselfe prooued true in king *Dyonise*. If I should propose to any King wholsome decrees, doing my endeouour to pluck out of his mind

mind the pernicious originall causes of vice and noughtinesse, thinke you not that I should forthwith either be driuen away, or else made a laughing stocke? Well, suppose I were with the French King, and there sitting in his Councell, whiles in that most secret consultation, the King himselfe there being present in his owne person, they beat their braines, and search the very bottomes of their wits, to discusse by what craft and meanes the King may still keepe *Milaine*, and draw to him againe fugitiue *Naples*: The French men priuily be counsailed fro the desire of *Italie*, and then how to conquer the *Venetians*, and how to bring vnder his iurisdiction all *Italie*; then how to winne the Dominion of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and all *Burgundie*; with diuers other Lands, whose Kingdomes hee hath long agoe in mind and purpose inuaded. Heere, whiles one counsaileth to conclude a League of Peace with the *Venetians*; so long to endure, as shall be thought meete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their Councell; yea, and besides that, to giue them part of the prey, which afterward, when they haue brought their purpose about, after their owne mindes, they may require and clayme againe: Another thinketh best to hyre the *Germanes*: Another would haue the fauour of the *Switzers* wonne with Money: Anothers aduise, is to appease the puissant power of the Emperours Maiestie with Gold, as with a most pleasant and acceptable sacrifice: Whiles another giueth counsaile to make peace with the King of *Arragon*, and to restore vnto him his owne Kingdome of *Nauarre*, as a full assurance of pecee: Another commeth in with his fine egges, and aduise to hooke in the King of *Castile*, with some hope of amitie, or allyance; and to bring to their past certaine Peeres of his Court, for great Pensions.

Whiles they all stay at the chiefest doubt of all, what to doe in the meane time with *England*; and yet agree all in this, to make peace with the *Englishmen*, and with most sure and strong bonds to binde that weake and feeble friendship, so that they must be called friends, and had in suspicion as enemies. And that therefore the *Scots* must

be had in a readinesse, as it were in a standing, readie at all occasions (in case the *Englishmen* should stir neuer so little) incontinent to set vpon them. And moreouer, priuily and secretly (for openly it may not be done, by the Truce that is taken;) priuily therefore, I say, to make much of some Peere of *England*, that is banished his Countrey, which must clayme Title to the Crowne of the Realme, and affirme himselfe iust Inheritor thereof: that by this subtile meanes they may hold to them the King, in whom else they haue but small trust and affiance.

A notable example, and worthy to be followed.

Here, I say, where so great and high matters be in consultation, where so many noble and wise men counsaile their King onely to warre: here if I, silly man, should rise vp, and will them to turne ouer the Lease, and learne a new Lesson, saying, That my counsaile is not to meddle with *Italie*, but to carrie still at home; and that the Kingdome of *France* alone is almost greater, then that it may wel be gouerned of one man; so that the King should not neede to studie how to get more: And then should propose vnto them the Decrees of the People that be called the *Achoriens*, which be situate ouer-against the Island of *Vtopia*, on the South-east side. These *Achoriens* once made warre, in their Kings Quarrell, for to get him another Kingdome which he layd clayme vnto, and aduanced himselfe right Inheritor to the Crowne thereof, by the Title of an old allyance. At the last, when they had gotten it, and saw that they had euen as much vexation and trouble in keeping it, as they had in getting it; and that either their new conquered subiects by sundrie occasions were making dayly Insurrections to rebell against them, or else that other Countries were continually with diuers inrodes and forraignes inuading them; so that they were euer fighting, either for them, or against them, and neuer could breake vp their Campes: Seeing themselves in the meane season, pilld and impouerished, their Money carryed out of the Realme; their owne men killed, to maintaine the glorie of another Nation: when they had no warre, peace nothing better

better then warre, by reason that their people in warre had so inured themselves to corrupt and wicked manners, that they had taken a delight and pleasure in robbing and stealing; that through manslaughter, they had gathered boldnesse to mischief; that their Lawes were had in contempt, and nothing set by, or regarded; that their King being troubled with the charge and gouernance of two Kingdomes, could not, nor was not able perfectly to discharge his office towards them both: seeing againe, that all these euils and troubles were endlesse, at the last layde their heads together, and like faithfull and louing subiects gaue to their King free choise and libertie to keepe still the one of these two Kingdomes, whether hee would; alleging, that hee was not able to keepe both, and that they were moe then might well be gouerned of halfe a King, for as much as no man would be content to take him for his Mulettor, that keepeth another mans Mules besides his. So this good Prince was constrayned to be content with his old Kingdome, and to giue ouer the new to one of his friends, who shortly after was violently driuen out.

Furthermore, if I should declare vnto them, that all this basie preparance to warre, whereby so many Nations for his sake should be brought into a troublesome hurly-burly, when all his Coffers were emptied, his Treasures wasted, and his People destroyed, should at the length through some mischance, be in vaine, and to none effect: and that therefore it were best for him to content himselfe with his owne Kingdome of *France*, as his fore-fathers and predecessors did before him, to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could; to endeavour himselfe to loue his subiects, and againe to be beloued of them; willingly to liue with them, peaceably to gouerne them, and with other Kingdomes not to meddle, seeing that which he hath alreadie is euen enough for him, yea, and more then he can well turne him to.

This mine aduice, Master *Moore*, how think you, would it not be hardly taken? So God help me, not very thank-fully,

fully, quoth I. Well let vs proceed then, quoth he. Suppose that some King and his Councell were together, whetting their wits, and deuising what subtil craft they might inuent, to enrich the King with great Treasures of Money.

Inhauncing
and embasing
of Coynes.

First, one counsaileth to rayse and enhance the valuation of Money, when the King must pay any; and againe, to call downe the value of Coyne to lesse then it is worth, when he must receiue or gather any: For thus, great summes shall be payd with a litle Money; and where litle is due, much shall be receiued.

Counterfeit
Warres.

Another counsaileth to faine Warre: that when vnder this colour and pretence the King hath gathered great abundance of Money, hee may, when it shall please him, make peace with great solemnitie, and holy ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore Communalitie, as taking pittie and compassion forsooth vpon mans bloud, like a louing and a mercifull Prince.

The renewing
of old Lawes.

Another putteth the King in remembrance of certaine old and moath-eaten Lawes, that of long time haue not beene put in execution, which because no man can remember that they were made, euery man hath transgressed. The fines of these Lawes he counsaileth the King to require: for there is no way so profitable, nor more honourable, as that which hath a shew and colour of Iustice.

Restraints.

Another aduiseh him to forbid many things vnder great Penalties and Fines, specially such things as is for the peoples profit nor to be vsed; and afterward, to dispencc for Money with them, which by this prohibition sustaine losse and dammage: For by this meanes, the fauour of the people is wonne, and profit riseth two wayes: first, by taking forfeits of them, whom couetousnesse of gaynes hath brought in danger of this Statute; and also by selling Priuiledges and Licences: which the better that the Prince is forsooth, the dearer hee selleth them, as one that is loth to graunt to any priuate person any thing that is against the profit of his people; and therefore may set none, but at an exceeding deare price.

Selling of Li-
cences.

Another

An other giueth the king counsell to endanger vnto his grace the Iudges of the Realme, that he may haue them euer on his side, and that they may in euery matter dispute and reason for the Kings right. Yea, and further to call them into his Pallace, and to require them, there to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence: So there shall be no matter of his so openly wrong and vniust, wherein one or other of them, either because he will haue some thing to alledge and obiekt; or that he is ashamed to say that which is said already; or else to picke a thanke with his Prince, will not finde some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrary part in a trip. Thus whiles the Iudges cannot agree amongst themselves, reasoning and arguing of that which is plaine enough, and bringing the manifest truth in doubt: in the meane season, the king may take a fit occasion to vnderstand the law as shall most make for his aduantage, wherunto all other for shame, or for feare will agree. Then the Iudges may be bold to pronounce on the kings side: for he that giueth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good excuse: For it shall be sufficient for him to haue equitie on his part, or the bare words of the law, a wrythen and wrested vnderstanding of the same (or else, which with good and iust Iudges is of greater force then all lawes be) the kings indisputable prerogatiue. To conclude, all the Counsellors agree and consent together with the rich *Crassus*, The saying of rich *Crassus*. that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a Prince, which must keepe and maintaine an Armie: furthermore that a king, though he would, can doe nothing vniustly.

For all that men haue, yea, also the men themselves be all his. And that euery man hath so much of his owne, as the kings gentleness hath not taken from him. And that it shall be most for the kings aduantage, that his subiects haue very little or nothing in their possession, as whose safeguard doth herein consist, that his people do not waxe wanton and wealthy through riches and libertie, because where these things be, there men be not wont patiently to

obey hard, vniust, and vnlawfull commandements. Whereas on the other part, neede and pouertie doth hold downe and keepe vnder stout courages, and maketh them patient perforce, taking from them bold and rebelling stomackes.

Heere againe if I should rise vp, and boldly affirme, that all these counsels be to the King dishonour and reproach, whose honour & safetie is more and rather supported and vpholden by the wealth and riches of his people, then by his owne treasures: and if I should declare that the communalitie chooseth their King for their owne sake, and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his labour and studie they might all liue wealthie, safe from wrongs and iniuries: and that therefore the King ought to take more care for the wealth of his people, then for his owne wealth, euen as the office and dutie of a shepheard is in that he is a shepheard, to feede his sheepe rather then himselfe. For as touching this, that they thinke the defence and maintenance of peace to consist in pouertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be far out of the way: For where shall a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling and chiding, then among beggars? Who be more desirous of new mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of that life? Or finally, who be bolder stomaked to bring all in a hurly-burly (thereby trusting to get some winde-fall) then they that haue now nothing to leese? And if any King were so smally regarded, and so lightly esteemed, yea, so be hated of his subiects, that other waies he could not keepe them in awe, but onely by open wrongs, by polling and shauing, and by bringing them to beggerie, surely it were better for him to forsake his kingdome, then to hold it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a King be kept, yet the Maiestie is lost: For it is against the dignitie of a King to haue rule ouer beggars, but rather ouer rich and wealthy men. Of this minde was the hardy and couragious *Fabrice*, when he said, that *He had rather*

Pouertie the
mother of de-
bate, and de-
cay of Realms.

A worthy say-
ing of *Fabrice*.

be

be a ruler of rich men, then be rich himselfe.

And verily, one man to live in pleasure and wealth, whiles all other weep and smart for it, that is the part, not of a King, but a lay our. To be short, as he is a foolish Phisitian, that cannot cure his Patients disease, vnlesse he cast him in another sicknesse; so he that cannot amend the liues of his subiects, but by taking from them the wealth and commoditie of life: he must needes grant, that he knoweth not the wealth and commoditie of life; he must needes grant, that he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amend his owne life, renounce vn honest pleasures, and forsake pride: for these be the chiefe vices that cause him to runne in the contempt or hatred of his people. Let him liue of his owne, hurting no man: Let him doe cost not aboue his power: Let him restraine wickednesse: Let him preuent vices, and take away the occasions of offences by well-ordering his subiects, and not by suffering wickednesse to encrease, afterward to be punished: Let him not be too hastie in calling again lawes which a custome hath abrogated; specially such as haue been long forgotten, & neuer lacked nor needed. And let him neuer vnder the cloake and pretence of transgression, take such fines and forsaits, as no Iudge will suffer a private person to take, as vniust and full of guile.

Here if I should bring forth before the law of the Macariens, which be not far distant from *Vtopia*, whose King, the day of his Coronation is bound (by a solemne oath, that he shall neuer at any time haue in his treasure aboue a thousand pound of Gold or Siluer. They say that a very good King, which tooke farre more care for the wealth and commoditie of his Countrie, then for the enriching of himselfe, made this law to be a stop and barre to kings from heaping and whording vp so much money as might impouerish their people: For he fore-saw that this sum of treasure would suffice to support the king in battaile against his owne people, if they should chance to rebell: and also to maintaine his warres against the inuasions

A strange and notable law of the Macariens.

of his forraine enemies. Againe, he perceiued the same stocke of money to be too little and vsufficient to encourage and enable him wrongfully to take away other mens goods: which was the chiefe cause why the law was made. Another cause was this. He thought that by this prouision his people should not lack money, wherewith to maintaine their daily occupying and chaffer.

And seeing the King could not choose but lay out and bestow all that came in aboue the prescript summe of his stocke, he thought he would seeke no occasions to doe his subiects iniurie. Such a king shall be feared of euill men, and loued of good men. These, and such other informations, if I should vse among men wholly inclined and giuen to the contrary part, how deafe eares thinke you shall I haue? Deafe hearers doubtleisse (quoth I,) And in good faith no meruaile. And to be plaine with you, truly I cannot allow that such communication shall be vsed, or such counsell giuen, as you be sure shall neuer be regarded nor receiued: For how can so strange informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their heads, whose minds be already preuented, with cleane contrary perswasions? This schoole Philosophie is not vnpleasant among friends in familiar communication, but in the counsels of Kings, where great matters be debated and reasoned with great authoritie, these things haue no place.

Schole Philosophie in the consultations of Princes haue no place.

That is it which I meant (quoth he) when I said Philosophie had no place among Kings. Indeed (quoth I) this schoole philosophie hath not: which thinketh all things meet for euery place. But there is another Philosophie more ciuill, which knoweth, as ye would say, her owne stage, and thereafter ordering and behauing her selfe in the play that she hath in hand, playeth her part accordingly with comelineesse, vttering nothing out of due order and fashion. And this is the Philosophie that you must vse. Or else whiles a Comodie of *Plautus* is playing, and the vilde bondmen scoffing and trifling among them-

A fine and fit similitude.

themselues, if you should suddenly come vpon the stage in a Philosophers apparell, and rehearse out of *Oitania* the place wherein *Seneca* desputeth with *Nero*: had it not beene better for you to haue played the dumme person, then by rehearsing that, which serued neither for the time nor place to haue made such a tragicall Comedie or gallimalfric? For by bringing in othes stufte that nothing appertaineth to the matter, you must needs marr and preuent the play that is in hand, though the stufte that you bring be much better. What part soeuer you haue taken vpon you, play that as well as you can and make the best of it: And doe not therefore disturbe and bring out of order the whole matter, because that another, which is merrier and better commeth to your remembrance.

A dum Player.

So the case standeth in a Common-wealth: and so it is in the consultations of Kings and Princes. If euill opinions and naughtie perswasions cannot be vtterly and quite plucked out of their hearts, if you cannot euen as you would remedie vices, which vse and custome hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not leaue and forsake the Common-wealth: you must not forsake the ship in a tempest, because you cannot rule and keepe downe the windes. No nor you must not labour to driue into their heads new and strange informations, which you know well shall be nothing regarded with them that be of cleane contrary mindes. But you must wiith a castie wile and subtil traine studie and endeouour your selfe, as much as in you lieth, to handle the matter wittily and handsomely for the purpose, and that which you cannot turne to good, so to order it that it be not very bad: For it is not possible for all things to be wel, vnlesse all men were good: which I thinke will not be yet these good many yeares. By this meanes (quoth he) nothing else will be brought to passe; but whiles I goe about to remedie the madnesse of others, I should be euen as mad as they: For if I would speake things that be true, I must needs speake such things: but as for to speake false things, whether that be a Philoso-

The Vroopian
Wealepublike.

phers part or no I cannot tell, truly it is not my part. Howbeit this communication of mine though peradventure it may seeme vnpleasant to them, yet cannot I see why it should seeme strange, or foolishly new fangled. If so be that I should speake those things that *Plato* saith in his Weale publike, or that the *Vroopians* doe in theirs, these things though they were (as they be indeed) better, yet they might seeme spoken out of place. For as much as heere amongst vs, euery man hath his possessions seuerall to himselfe, and there all things be in common.

But what was in my communication contained, that might not, and ought not in any place to be spoken? Saying that to them which haue throughly decreed and determined with themselves to runne headlong on the contrarie way, it cannot be acceptable and pleasant, because it calleth them backe, and sheweth them the iopardies: Verily if all things that euill and vitious manners haue caused to seeme vnconuenient and nought should be refused, as things vnmeet and reproachfull, then we must among Christian people winke at the most part of all those things which Christ taught vs, and so straightly forbid them to be winked at, that those things also which he whispered in the eares of his disciples, he commanded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most part of the is more dissident from the maners of the world now a dayes, then my communication was. But Preachers silly and wily men following your counsell (as I suppose) because they saw men euill-willing to frame their maners to Christs rule, they haue wrestled and wringed his doctrine, and like a rule of lead haue applyed it to mens manners: that by some meanes at the least way, they might agree together. Whereby I cannot see what good they haue done: but that men may more sickly be euill. And I truly should preuaile euen as little in kings counsels: For either I must say otherwaies then they say, and then I were as good to say nothing, or else I must say the same that they say, and (as *Masio* saith in Terence) helpe to further

further their madnesse. For that craftie wile & subtil train of yours, I cannot perceiue to what purpose it serueth, where with you would haue me to studie and endeuor my selfe, if all things cannot be made good, yet to handle them wittily & handsomely for the purpose, that as far forth as is possible, they may not be very euill. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to work in. Noughty counsels must be openly allowed, & very pestilent decrees must be approued.

He shall be counted worse then a spy, yea, almost as euill as a Traitor, that with a faint-heart doth praise euill and noisome decrees. Moreouer a man can haue no occasion to do good, chanſing into the company of them, which will sooner peruert a good man then be made good themselves: through whose euill company he shalbe mared, or else if he remaine good and innocent, yet the wickednesse and folly of others shall be imputed to him, and laid in his neck. So that it is impossible with that crafty wile, & subtil traine to turne any thing to better. Wherefore *Plato* by a goodly similitude declareth, why wise men refrain to meddle in the Common-wealth: For when they see the people swarme into the streetes, and daily wet to the skin with raine, & yet cannot perswade them to go out of the raine, and to take their house, knowing well, that if they should goe out to them, they should nothing preuaile, nor winne ought by it, but with them be wet also in the raine, they doe keepe themselves within their houses, being content that they be safe themselves, seeing they cannot remedie the folly of the people. How be it doubtlesse Master *Moore* (to speake truly as my mind giueth me) where possessions be priuate, where money beareth all the stroake, it is hard and almost impossible that there the Weale publike may iustly be gouerned, and prosperously flourish; vnlesse you thinke thus: That Iustice is there executed, where al things come into the hands of euill men; or that prosperitie there flourisheth, where all is diuided among a few: which few neuertheless doe not leade their liues very wealthely, and the residue liue miserably, wretchedly, and beggerly.

Where

Wherefore when I consider with my selfe, and wey in my minde, the wise and godly ordinances of the *Vitopians*; among whom, with very few lawes all things be so well and wealthie ordered, that vertue is had in a price and estimation, and yet all things being there common, every man hath abundance of every thing. Againe, on the other part, when I compare with them so many nations ever making new lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficiently furnished with lawes: where every man calleth that he hath gotten, his own proper and priuate goods, where so many new lawes daily made, be not sufficient for every man to enioy, defend, and know from another mans that which he calleth his owne: which thing the infinite controuersies in the law, daily rising, neuer to be ended, plainly declare to be true. These things (I say) when I consider with my selfe, I hold well with *Plato*, and do nothing meruaile, that he would make no lawes for them, that refused those lawes, whereby all men should haue and enioy equal portions of wealths and commodities.

Plato willed all things in a Common-wealth to be common.

For the wise man did easily fore-see, this to be the one and only way to the wealth of a communaltie, if equalitie of all things should be brought in and stablished. Which I thinke is not possible to be obserued, where euery mans goods be proper and peculiar to himselfe: For where euery man vnder certaine titles and preerences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can; so that a few diuide among themselves all the whole riches, be there neuer so much abundance and store, there to the residue is left lack and pouertie.

And for the most part it chanceth, that this latter sort is more worthy to enioy that state of wealth, then the other be: because the rich men be couetous, craftie, and vnprofitable. On the other part, the poore be lowly, simple, and by their daily labour, more profitable to the Common-wealth, then to themselves. Thus I do fully perswade my selfe, that no equall and iust distribution of things can be made, nor that perfect wealth shal euere be among men,
vnlesse

vnlesse this proprietie be exiled and banished. But
so long as it shall continue, so long shall remaine a-
mong the most and best part of men, the heavy and
incurtable burden off pouertie and wretchednesse.
Which, as I graunt that it may be somewhat eased, so
I vtterly deny that it can wholly to be taken away:
For if there were a Statute made, that no man should
haue in his stocke aboue a prescript and appointed sum
of money: if it were by certaine lawes decreed, that nei-
ther the king should be of too great power, neither the
people too haughtie and wealthie; and that Offices
should not by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gifts:
that they should neither be bought nor sold; nor that it
should be needfull for the officers, to be at any cost or
charge in their offices: for so occasions giuen to them
by fraude and rauenine to gather vp their money againe;
and by reason of gifts and bribes, the offices be giuen to
rich men, which should rather haue beene executed of
wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies that
be desperate and past cure, be wont with continuall good
cherishing to be kept and botched vp for a time: so these
euils also may be lightned and mitigated. But that they
may be perfectly cured, brought to a good and upright
state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is
Master of his owne to himselfe. Yea and whiles you
goe about to doe your cure of one part, you shall make
bigger the sore of another part, so the helpe of one cau-
seth anothers harme: forasmuch as nothing can be gi-
uen to any one vnlesse it be taken from another. But
I am of a contrary opinion (quoth I) for me thinketh
that men shall neuer there liue wealthie, where all things
be common: For how can there be abundance of goods,
or of any thing, where euery man with-draweth his
hand from labour? Whom the regard of his owne
gaines drineth not to worke, but the hope that he hath
in other mens trauailes maketh him sloathfull.

H

Then

Then when they be pricked with pouertie, and yet no man can by any law or right defend that for his owne, which hee hath gotten with the labour of his owne hands, shall not there of necessitie be continual sedition and bloudshed? Specially the authoritie and reuerence of Magistrates, being taken away, which, what place it may haue with such men among whom is no difference, I cannot deuise. I meruaile not (quoth he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceiue in your minde either none at all, or else a very false Image and similitude of this thing. But if you had beene with me in *Vtopia*, and had presently seene their fashions and lawes, as I did, which liued there fise yeares, and more, and would neuer haue come thence, but onely to make that new Land knowne here: Then doubtlesse you would grant, that you neuer saw people well ordered, but only there. Surely (quoth Master *Peter*) it shall be hard for you to make me beleue, that there is better order in that new Land, then is heere in the Countries that we know. For good wits be as well heere as there: and I thinke our Common-wealths be ancients then theirs; wherein long vse and experience hath found out many things commodious for mans life; besides that many things heere among vs haue beene found by chance, which no wit could euer haue deuised. As touching the ancientnesse (quoth he) of common wealthes, then, you might better iudge if you had read the Histories and Chronicles of that land, which, if we may beleue, Cities were there, before men were heere. Now what thing so euer hitherto by wit hath bin deuised, or found by chance, that might be as well there as heere. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in wit: yet in studie, in trauell, and in labour some endeuour, they farre passe vs; For (as their Chronicles testifie) before our arriual there they neuer heard any thing of vs, whom they call the *Vlтраquinoctiales*: sauing that once about 1200 yeares

yeares agoe, a certaine ship was lost by the Ile of *Vtopia*, which was driuen thither by tempest. Certaine Romans and Egyptians were cast on Land. Which after that neuer went thence. Marke now what profit they tooke of this one occasion through diligence and earnest trauaile. There was no craft nor science within the empire of *Rome* whereof any profit could rise, but they either learned it of these strangers, or else of them, taking occasion to search for it, found it out. So great profit was it to them that euer any went thither, from hence. But if any like chance before this hath brought any man from thence hither, that is as quite out of remembrance, as this also perchance in time to come shall be forgotten, that euer I was there. And like as they quickly, almost at the first meeting, made their owne, whatsoeuer is among vs wealthily deuised: so I suppose it would be long before we should receiue any thing, that among them is better instituted then among vs. And this I suppose is the chiefe cause why their Common-wealths be wiselier gouerned, and doe flourish in more wealth then ours, though wee neither in wit nor riches be their inferiours. Therefore gentle Master *Raphael* (quoth I) I pray you and beseech you describe vnto vs the Island. And studie not to be short: but declare largely in order their Grounds, their Rivers, their Cities, their people, their maners, their ordinances, their lawes, and to be short, all things that you shall thinke vs desirous to know. And you shall thinke vs desirous to know whatsoeuer wee know not yet. There is nothing (quoth he) that I will doe gladlier. For all these things I haue fresh in minde: But the matter requireth leisure. Let vs goe in therefore (quoth I) to dinner, afterward we will bestow the time at our pleasure. Content (quoth he) be it. So we went in and dined. When dinner was done, we came into the same place againe, and sate vs downe vpon the same bench, commanding our seruants

that no man should trouble vs. Then I and Master *Peter Giles* desired Master *Raphael* to performe his promise. Hec therefore seeing vs desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had saie still and paused a little while, musing and bethinking himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the first Booke.

THE



THE
SECOND BOOKE
OF THE COMMUNICATION
OF RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,
concerning the best State of a COMMON-WEALTH.

Containing the description of *Vtopia*, with

a large declaration of the politike govern-
ment, and of all the good Lawes and

Orders of the same

Iland.



THE *Iland of Vtopia*, containeth The fight and
in breadth in the middle part fashion of the
of it (for there it is broadest) new *Iland*
200. miles. Which breadth con- *Vtopia*
tinneth through the most part of
the Land, sauing that by little
it commeth in, and waxeth nar-
rower towards both the endes :
which fetching about a circuit of
compasse of five hundred miles, doe fashion the whole
Iland like to the new Moone. Betweene these two cor-
ners the Sea runneth in, diuiding them a sunder by the di-
stance of a leauen miles or thereabouts, and there sur-
mounteth into a large Sea, which by reason that the Land
on euery side compasseth it about, and sheltreth it from

A place naturally fenced,
needeth one
garrison,

A politike deuise in the
chaunging of
land-markes.

The Island of
Vropia, so named of King
Vropus.

the windes, is not rough, nor mounteth uot with great waues, but almost floweth quietly, not much vnlike a great standing poole: and maketh well-neigh all the space within the belly of the Land in manner of a hauen: and to the great commoditie of the inhabitants, receiue in ships towards euery part of the Land. The fore-fronts or frontiers of the two corners, that which boordes and shelues, and what with rockes, be ieopardous and dangerous. In the middle distance betweene them both, standeth vp above the water a great rocke, which therefore it is nothing perilous because it is in sight. Vpon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they hold with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lying hid vnder the water, which therefore be dangerous. The channels be knowne onely to themselves. And therefore it seldome chanceth that any stranger vnlesse he be guided by an Vtopian, can come into this hauen. In so much that they themselves could scarcely enter without ieopardie, but that their way is directed and ruled by certaine land markes standing on the shore. By turning, translating, and remouing the markes, into other places, they may destroy their enemies nauies, be they neuer so many. The out-side or vtter circuite of the land, is also full of hauens, but the landing is so surely fenced, what by nature, and what by workmanship of mens hands, that a few defenders may drine backe many armies. Howbeit as they say, and as the fashion of the place it selfe doth partly shew, it was not euer compassed about with the sea. But King *Vropus*, whose name, as conquest, the Island beareth: For before this time it was called *Abriaxa*, which also brought the rude and wilde people to that excellent perfection in all good fashions, humanitie, and ciuill gentlenesse, wherein they now goe beyond all the people in the world: euen at his arriuing and entering vpon the land, forthwith obtaining the victorie, caused fiftene miles space of vplandish ground, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and digged vp. And so wrought

wrought the Sea round about the Land. He set to this worke, not only the inhabitants of this Iland (because they should not thinke it done in contumely and despite) but also all his owne souldiours.

Thus the worke being diuided into so great a number of workemen, was with exceeding meruailous speede dispatched. In so much that the borderers, which at the first began to mocke, and to iest as the vaine enterprise, then turned their derision to meruaile at the successe, and to feare. There be in the Iland fiftie foure large and faire Cities, or shiere townes, agreeing altogether in one tongue, in like maners, institutions, and lawes. They be all set and situate alike, and in all points fashioned alike, as farre forth as the place or plot suffereth.

Many hands
make light
worke.

Cities in Pro-
pia.

Similitude
causeth con-
cord,

A meane di-
stance between
City and City.

Of these Cities, they that be nighest together be twentie foure miles asunder. Againe, there is none of them distant from the next, aboue one daies iourney a foot. There come yearely to *Amaurote*, out of euery Citie, three old men wise and well-experienced, there to intreate and debate, of the common matters of the Land. For this Citie (because it standeth iust in the midst of the Iland, and is therefore most meete for the Ambassadors of all parts of the Realme) is taken for the chiefe and head Citie. The precincts and bounds of the shieres, be so commodiously appointed out, and set forth for the Cities, that none of the all hath of any side lesse then twentie miles of ground, and of some side also much more, as of that part where the Cities be of further distance a sunder. None of the Cities desire to enlarge the bounds and limits of their shires. For they count themselves rather the good husband, then the owners of their lands. They haue in the Countrey in all parts of the shiere, houses or farmes builded, well appointed and furnished with all sorts of instruments and tooles belonging to husbandrie. These houses be inhabited of the Citizens, which come thither to dwell by course. No household or farme in the Countrey hath fewer then fiftie persons men and women, besides two bond-

The pistribu-
tion of lands.

But this now
adaies is the
ground of all
mischiefe.

Husbandry
and tillage,
chiefly and
principally re-
garded and ad-
uauced.

bondmen, which be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wife of the house, being both very sage, discrete; and auncient persons. And euery thirty farmes or families haue one head ruler, which is called a Philarche, being as it were a head Baylife. Out of euery one of these families or farmes, commeth euery yeare into the citie twentie persons, which haue continued two yeares before in the Countrey. In their place so many fresh be sent thither out of the Citie, who, of them that haue bene there a yeare already, and be therefore expert and cunning in husbandry, shall be instructed and taught. And they the next yeare shall teach other.

This order is vsed for feare that either scarcenesse of victuals, or some other like incommoditie should chance, through lacke of knowledge: if they should be altogether new, and fresh, and vnexpert in husbandrie. This maner and fashion, of yearely changing and renewing the occupiers of husbandrie, though it be solemne and customably vsed, to thinke that no man shall be constrained against his will to continue long in that hard and sharpe kinde of life; yet many of them haue such a pleasure and delight in husbandrie, that they obtaine a longer space of yeares. These husbandmen, plough and till the ground, and breede vp cattell, and prouide and make ready wood, which they carrie to the Citie either by land or water, as they most conueniently. They bring vp a great multitude of pullein, and that by a meruailous policie: for the hens doe not sit vpon the egges; but by keeping them in a certaine equall heat they bring life into them, and hatch them. The chickens, as soone as they become out of the shell, follow men and women in sted of the hennies. They bring vp very few horses: nor none, but very fierce ones: and that for none other vse or purpose, but only to exercise their youth in riding, and seates of Armes: For Oxen be put to all the labour of ploughing and drawing: which they grant not to be so good as horses at a sudden brunt, and (as we say) at a dead lift; but yet they hold an opinion,

The duties of
men of husbandrie.

A strange fashion in hatching and bringing vp of Pullein.

The vse of
Horses.

The vse of
Oxen.

nion, that Oxen will abide and suffer much more labour, paine and hardinesse, then Horses will. And they thinke that Oxen be not in danger and subiect vnto so many diseases, and that they be kept and maintained with much lesse cost and charge : and finally, that they be good for meate, when they be past labour. They sow corne only for bread. For their drinke is either Wine made of grapes, Bread and or else of apples, or peares, or else it is cleare water : and drinke, many times Meate made of honey or licouresse sodde in water ; for thereof they haue great store. And though they know certainly (for they know it perfectly indeed) how much victuals the Citie with the whole Countrie or Shire round about it doth spend : yet they sowe much more corne, and breede vp much more cattell, then serueth for their owne vse, parting the ouerplus among their borderers. Whatsoeuer necessary things be lacking in the Countrey, all such stuffe they fetch out of the Citie : where without any exchange, they easily obtaine it of the Magistrates of the Citie. For euery moneth many of them goe into the Citie on the holiday. When their haruest day draweth neare, and is at hand, then the Philarches, which be the head Officers and Bailifes of husbandrie, send word to the Magistrates of the Citie what number of haruest men is needfull to be sent to them out of the Citie. The which companie of haruest men being ready at the day appointed, almost in one faire day dispatcheth all the haruest worke.

A great discretion in sowing of corne.

Mutually helped quickly dispatched.

Of the Cities, and namely Amaurote.

AS for their Cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth them all : they be all so like one to another, as farre forth as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which : but which rather then *Amaurote* ? Of them all, this is the worthiest and of

The description
of *Amaurote*
the chiefe citie
in *Prepis*.

The description
of *Anyder*.

The very like
in England in
the Riuer of
Thames.

Herein also
doth *London* a-
gree with *A-*
maurote.

most dignitie. For the residue knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the Counsell house. Nor to me any of them all is better beloued, as wherein I liued five whole yeares together: The Citie of *Amaurote* standeth vpon the side of a low hill, in fashion almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the top of the hill, and still continueth by the space of two miles, vntill it come to the riuer of *Anyder*. The length of it, which lieth by the riuers side, is somewhat more. The riuer of *Anyder* riseth foure and twentie miles about *Amaurote* out of a little spring. But being increased by other small Riuers and Brookes that runne into it, and among other, two somewhat big ones; before the Citie it is halfe a mile broad and further broader. And fortie miles beyond the citie it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that lieth betweene the sea and the Citie, and certaine miles also about the Citie, the water ebbeth and floweth sixe houres together with a swift tide. When the Sea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles, it filleth all the *Anyder* with salt water, and driueth backe the fresh water of the Riuer. And somewhat further, it changeth the sweetnesse of the fresh water with the saltnesse. But a little beyond that, the riuer waxeth sweet, and runneth fore by the Citie fresh and pleasant. And when the Sea ebbeth, and goeth back again, the fresh water followeth it almost euen to the very fall of the Sea. There goeth a bridge ouer the riuer, made not of piles or of timber, but of stone worke, with gorgeous and substantiall Arches, at that part of the Citie that is farthest from the Sea: to the intent that ships may Passe along fore by all the side of the Citie without let. They haue also another riuer which indeed is not very great. But it runneth gently and pleasantly: For it riseth euen out of the same hill that the Citie standeth vpon, and runneth downe a slope through the midst of the Citie into *Anyder*.

And because it riseth a little without the Citie, the *Amauritians* haue inclosed the head spring of it, with
strong

strong fences, and bulwarkes, and so haue ioyned it to the Citie. This is done to the intent that the water should not be stopped, nor turned away, or poisoned, if their enemies should chance to come vpon them. From thence the water is deriued and conueyed downe in channels of bricke diuers waies, into the lower parts of the Citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place will not suffer it, there they gather the raine water in great cisternes, which doth them as good seruice. The Citie is compalled about with a high and thicke stone wall full of turrets and bulwarkes. A drie ditch, but deepe and broad, and ouer-growne with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth about three sides or quarters of the Citie. To the fourth side the riuer it selfe serueth as a ditch. The streetes be appointed and set forth very commodious, and handsome, both for cariage, and also against the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the streete side they stand ioyned together in a long row through the whole streete, without any partition or separation. The streetes be twentie foote broad. On the backe side of the houses through the whole length of the street, ly large Gardens inclosed round about with the backe part of the streetes. Euery house hath two doores, one into the streete, and a posterne doore on the backe side into the Garden. These doores be made with two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they will follow the least drawing of a finger, and shut againe alone. Who so will, may goe in, for there is nothing within the houses that is priuate, or any mans owne. And euery tenth yeare they change their houses by lot. They set great store by their Gardens.

The vse of
fresh water.

The defence
of towne wals.

Streetes.
Buildings and
houses.

To euery dwel-
ling house a
garden place
adioyning.

This geare
smelleth of
Plato his com-
munitie.

In them they haue vine-yeards, all maner of fruit, hearbs, and flowers, so plesant, so well furnished, and so finely kept, that I neuer saw thing more fruitfull, nor better trimmed in any place. Their study and diligence heere- in commeth not only of pleasure, but also of a certaine strife and contention that is betwene streete and streete,

concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their gardens : euery man for his owne part. And verily you shall not lightly finde in all the Citie any thing, that is more commodious, either for the profit of the Citizens, or for pleasure. And therefore it may seeme that the first founder of the Citie minded nothing so much, as these gardens. For they say that King *Vtropus* himselfe, euen at the first beginning, appointed and drew forth the plat-forme of the Citie into this fashion and figure that it hath now, but the gallant garnishing, and the beautifull setting forth of it, whereunto he saw that one mans age would not suffice, that he left to his posteritie. For their Chronicles which they keepe written with all diligent circumspection, containing the Historie of 1760 yeares, euen from the first conquest of the Iland, record and witnesseth that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore shepheard houses, made at all aduentures of euery rude peece of timber, that came first to hand, with mudde walls, and ridged roofes, thatched ouer with straw. But now the houses be curiously builded after a gorgeous and gallant sort, with three stories one ouer another. The out-sides of the walls be made either of hard flint, or of Plaster, or else of bricke, and the inner-sides be well strengthened with timberworke. The roofes be plaine and flat, covered with a certaine kinde of Plaster, that is of no cost, and yet so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstandeth the violence of the weather better then any lead. They keepe the winde out of their windowes with glasse, for it is there much vsed, and some heere also with fine linnen cloath dipped in oyle or amber, and that for two commodities : For by this meanes more light commeth in, and the winde is better kept out.

Glased or can-
uased win-
dowes.

Of the Magistrates.

EVery thirtie families or farmes, choose them yearely an Officer, which in their old language is called the Siphogrant, and by a newer name, the Philarche. Euery ten Siphogrants, with all their thirtie families be vnder an Officer, which was once called the Tranibore, now the chiefe Philarche. Moreouer as concerning the election of the Prince, all the Syphogrants, which be in number two hundred, first be sworne to choose him, whom they thinke most meete and expedient. Then by a secret election, they name Prince one of those foure, whom the people before named vnto them. For out of the foure quarters of the Citie there be foure chosen, out of euery quarter one, to stand for the election: which be put vp to the Councell. The Princes Office continueth all his life time, vnlesse he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tyrannie. They choose the Tranibores yearely, but lightly they change them not. All the other Officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores euery third day, and sometimes, if neede be, oftner come into the Counsell house with the Prince. Their counsell is concerning the Common-wealth. If there be any controuerfies among the Commoners, which be very few, they dispatch and end them by and by. They take enter two Siphrogants to them in counsell, and euery day a new couple. And it is provided, that nothing touching the Common-wealth shall be confirmed and ratified, vnlesse it haue bene reasoned of and debated, three daies in the counsell before it be decreed. It is death to haue any consultation, for the Common-wealth out of the counsell, or the place of the common election. This statute, they say, was made to the intent, that the Prince and Tranibores, might not easily conspire together to oppress the people by tyrannie, and to change the state of the Weale-publike. Therefore matters of great waight and

A Tranibore in the Vtopian tongue, signifieth a head or chiefe Peere. A meruillous strange fashion in choosing Magistrates.

Tyranny in a well ordered Weale publike vnto be abhorred.

States and controuerfies betweene party & party forth with to be ended; which now a daies of a set purpose be vnreasonably delaied.

Against haste and rash decrees or statutes.

A custome
worthie to be
vsed these
daies in our
councells and
parliaments:

importance be brought to the election house of the Siphogrants, which, open the matter to their families. And afterward, when they haue consulted among themselves, they shew their deuise of the counsell. Sometime the matter is brought before the counsell of the whole Island. Furthermore this custome also the counsell vseth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same day that it is first proposed or put forth, but to deferre it to the next sitting of the counsell: Because that no man when he hath rashly there spoken that commeth to his tongues end, shall then afterward rather studie for reasons wherewith to defend and maintaine his first foolish sentence, then for the commoditie of the common-wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hinderance of the Weale publike, then any losse or diminution of his owne estimation. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a very foolish shame) to be counted any thing at the first ouer-seene in the matter. Who at the first ought to haue spoken rather wisely, then hastily, or rashly.

Of Sciences, Crafts, and Occupations.

Husbandry or
tillage practi-
sed of all e-
states, which
now adaies is
reiekt vnto a
few of the ba-
sell sort.
Sciences or oc-
cupations
should be lear-
ned for ne-
cessities sake,
and not for
the mainie-
nance of rio-
rous excesse
and wanton
pleasure,

HVsbandrie is a Science common to them all in generall, both men and women, wherein they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instructed euen from their youth: partly in their schooles with traditions and precepts, and partly in the country nigh the city, brought vp as it were in playing, not only beholding the vse of it, but by occasion of exercising there bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, which (as I said) is common to them all, euery one of them learneth one or other seuerall and particular science, as his owne proper craft. That is most commonly either cloath-working in wooll or flaxe, or masonarie, or the smiths craft, or the carpenters science: For there is none other occupatiō that any number to speak of doth vse there.

For

For their garments, which throughout all the Iland bee of one fashion, (sauiug that there is a difference betweene the mans garment and the womans, betweene the married and the vnmarried) and this one continueth for euermore vnchaunged, seemely and comely to the eye, no let to the moouing and welding of the body, also fit-both for winter and summer: as for these garments (I say) euery family maketh their owne.

But of the other foresaid craftes euery man learneth one. And not onely the men but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier crafts: as to worke wooll and flaxe. The more labourfome sciences bee committed to the men. For the most part, euery man is brought vp in his fathers craft. For most commonly they bee naturally thereto bent and inclined. But if a mans minde stand to any other, hee is by adoption but into a family of that occupation, which he doth most fantasie. Whom not onely his father, but also the Magistrate doe diligently looke to, that he bee put to a discrete and an honest house-holder. Yea, and if any person, when he hath learned one craft, be desirous to learne also another, he is likewise suffered and permitted. When he hath learned both, hee occupieth whether hee will: vnlesse the citie hath more neede of the one, then the other. The chiefe and almost the onely office of the Syphograutes is, to see and take heede, that no man sit idle: but that euery one applie his owne craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earely in the morning, to late in the euening, with continuall worke, like labouring and toyling beasts. For this is worse then the miserable and wretched condition of bondmen.

Similitude in
apparell,

No citizen
without a
science.

To what occu-
pation euery
one is natural-
ly inclined,
that let him
learne.

Idle persons to
be driuen out
of the weale
publique.

Which, neuer thelesse is almost euery where the life of workemen and artificers, sauiug in *Vtopia*. For they diuiding the day and the night into twentie foure iust houres, appoint and assigne onely fixe of those houres to worke, before noone; vpon the which they goe straight to dinner, and after dinner, when they haue roasted two houres,

A moderation
in the labour
and toyle of
artificers.

houres, then they worke three houres, and vpon that they goe to supper. About eight of the clocke in the euening (counting one of the clocke the first houre after noone) they goe to bed : eight houres they giue to sleepe. All the voide time, that is betweene the houres of worke, sleepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestow euery man as he liketh best himselfe. Not to the intent that they should mispend this time in riot, or sloathfulnesse, but being then lisenced from the labour of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftily vpon some other Science, as shall please them : For it is a solemne custome there, to haue Lectures daily early in the morning, whereto be present, they only be constrained, that be namely, chofen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multitude of euery fort of people, both men and women goe to heare Lectures, some one and some another, as euery mans nature is inclined. Yet this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestow this time vpon his owne occupation, as it chanceth in many, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any Science liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also praised and commended, as profitable to the Common-wealth. After supper, they bestow one houre in play : in Summer, in their Gardens : in Winter, in their common Halls, where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselves in Musicke, or else in honest and wholsome communication. Dice-play, and such other foolish and pernicious games, they know not. But they vse two games, not much vnlike the Chess. The one is the barraile of numbers, wherein one number stealeth away another. The other is where vices fight with vertues, as it were in battle array, or a set Field. In the which game is very properly shewed, both the strife and discord, that the vices haue among themselves, and againe their vnitie and concord against vertues : And also what vices be repugnant to what vertues : with what power and strength they assaile them openly : by what wiles and subtiltie they assault them secretly : with what helpe and

The studie of
good litera-
ture.

Playing after
supper.

But nowadaies
dice-play is the
pastime of
Princes.

Plaies of
games also
profitable.

aide the vertues resist, and ouercome the puissance of the vices : by what craft they frustrate their purposes : and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victorie. But heere least you be deceiued, one thing you must looke more narrowly vpon. For seeing they bestow but sixe houres in worke, perchance you may thinke that the lacke of some necessary things hereof may ensue. But this is nothing so ; For that small time is not only enough, but also too much for the store and abundance of all things, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or Th kinde of commoditie of life. The which thing you also shall sorts of idle perceiue, if you wey and consider with your selues how People. great a part of the people in other Countreys liueth idle. First almost all women, which be the halfe of the whole Women. number : or else if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonly in their stead the men be ydle. Besides this how great and how ydle a company is there of Priests and religious men, as they call them ? put thereto Religious men. all rich men, specially all landed men, which commonly Rich men and landed men. be called Gentlemen, and noblemen. Take into this number also their seruants : I meane all that flocke of stout Seruingmen. bragging ruffbucklers. Ioyne to them also sturdie and Sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life vnder the colour valiant beggars. of some disease or sicknesse.

And truly you shall finde them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour all these things are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daily vsed and frequented. Now consider with your selfe, of these few that do work, how few be occupied, in necessary workes : For where Wonderful money beareth all the swing, there many vaine and su- wittily spoken. perfluous occupations must needs be vsed to serue onely for riotous superfluitie, and vn honest pleasure : for the same multitude that now is occupied in worke, if they were diuided into so few occupations, as the necessarie vse of nature requireth, in so great plentie of things as then of necessity would ensue, doubtlesse the prices would be too little for the artificers to maintaine their liuings.

But if all these, that be now busied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that liue idly and sloathfully, which consume and waste euery one of them more of these things that come by other mens labour, then two of the workemen themselues doe: if all these (I say) were set to profitable occupations: you easily perceiue how little time would be enough, yea and too much to store vs with all things that may be requisite either for necessitie, or for commodity, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be true and naturall. And this in *Vtopia* the thing it selfe maketh manifest and plaine. For there in all the citie with the whole countrey, or shiere adioyning to it scarcely fise hundred persons of all the whole number of men & women, that be neither too olde nor too weake to worke, be licensed and discharged from labour. Among them be the Syphogrants (who though they be by the lawes exempt and priuiledged from labour) yet they exempt not themselues: to the intent they may the rather by their example to prouoke others to worke.

Not asmuch
as the magi-
strates liue
idly.

The same vacation from labour doe they also enioy, to whom the people perswaded by the commendation of the priests, and secret election of the Syphogrants, haue giuen a perpetuall licence, from labour to learning. But if any one of them prooue not according to the expectation and hope of him conceiued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrariwise, and often it chanceth that a handicrafts man doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare houres in learning, and through diligence so profiteth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Out of this order of the learned, be chosen Ambassadors, Priests, Tranibores, and finally the prince himselfe. Whom they in their old tongue call Barzanes, and by a newer name, *Adamus*.

Onely learned
men called to
offices.

Ther residue of the people being neither idle, nor yet occupied about vnprofitable exercises, it may bee easily iudged in how few houres how much good worke they

them may be done and dispatched, towards those things that I haue spoken off. This commoditie they haue also aboute other, that in the most part of necessary occupations they neede not so much worke, as other nations doe. For first of all the building or repairing of houses asketh euery where so many mens continuall labour, because that the vnthrifstie heire suffereth the houses that his father builded, in continuance of time, to fall in decay. So that which he might haue vpholpen with little cost, his successor is constrained to build it again a new, to his great charge. Yea many times also the house that stood one man in much money: and another is of so nice & so delicate a minde, that he setteth nothing by it. And it being neglected, & therfore shortly falling into ruin, he buildeth vp another in an other place with no lesse cost and charge.

How to auoid
excessiue cost
in building.

But among the Vtopians, where allthings be set in good order, and the Common-wealth in a good stay, it seldome chanceth, that they choose a new plot to build an house vpon. And they doe not onely finde speedie and quicke remedies for present faults: but also preuent them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continue and last very long with little labour and small reparations, insomuch that these kinde of workemen sometimes haue almost nothing to doe. But that they be commanded to hew timber at home, and to square and trim vp stones, to the intent that if any worke chance, it may the speedilier rise. Now sir, in their apparell, marke (I pray you) how few workemen they need. First of all, whiles they be at worke, they be couered homely with leather, or skins, that will last seauen yeares. When they goe forth abroad, they cast vpon them a cloake, which hideth the other homely apparell. These cloakes throughout the whole Island, be all of one colour, and that is the naturall colour of the wooll. They therefore doe not onely spend much woollen cloth, then is spent in other countries, but also the same standeth them in much lesse cost. But linnen cloath is made with lesse labour,

How to lessen
the charge in
apparell.

and is therefore had more in vse. But in linnen cloath only whitenesse; in wollen, only clenlineesse is regarded. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of the thred, that is nothing passed for. And this is the cause wherefore in other places foure or fīue cloath gownes of diuers colours, and as many silke coates be not enough for one man. Yea, and if he be of the dilicate and nice sort, tenne be too few: where as there one garment will serue a man most commonly two yeares: For why should he desire moe? seeing if he had them, he should not be the better hapt or couered from cold, neither in his apparell any whit the comlier. Wherefore, seeing they be all exercised in profitable occupations, and that few Artificers in the same crafts be sufficient: this is the cause that plentie of all things being among them, they doe sometimes bring forth an innumerable company of people to amend the high-waies, if any be broken. Many times also, when they haue no such worke to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestow fewer houres in worke: For the Magistrates doe not exercise their citizens against their wills in vneedfull labours. For why, in the institution of the Weale publike, this end is only and chiefly pretended and minded, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affaires of the Common-wealth, all that the Citizens should withdraw from the bodily seruice to the free libertie of the minde, and garnishing of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitie of this life to consist.

Of their lining, and mutuall conuersation together.

BUT now, will I declare how the citizens vse themselves one to another: what familiar occupying and entertainment, there is among the people, and what fashion they vse in the distribution of every thing. First, the Citie consisteth of families, the families

families most commonly be made of kinreds. For the women when they be married at a lawfull age, they goe into their husbands houses.

But the male children, with all the whole male offspring continue still in their owne family, and be governed of the eldest and auncientest father, vnlesse he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his roome. But to the intent the prescript number of the citizens should neither decrease, nor aboue measure increase; it is ordained that no family, which in euery Citie be sixe thousand in the whole, besides them of the Country, shall at once haue fewer children of the age of foureteen yeares or thereabout, then ten, or moe then sixteene; for of children vnder this age, no number can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or number is easily obserued and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be aboue the number into families of smaller increase. But if chance be that in the whole Citie, the store increase aboue the iust number, wherewith they fill vp the lacke of other Cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole Iland, passe and exceed the due number, then they choose out of euery Citie certaine Citizens, and build vp a town vnder their owne lawes in the next Land where the inhabitants haue much waste and vnoccupied ground, receiuing also of the same Countrey people to them, if they will ioyne and dwell with them. They thus ioyning and dwelling together doe easily agree in one fashion, of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples: For they so bring the matter about by their Lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now sufficient and fruitfull enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of the land, will not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they driue them out of those bounds which they haue limited and appointed out for themselves.

And if they resist and rebell, then they make warre against them. For they count this the most iust cause of

warre, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable vse, keeping other from the vse and possession of it, which notwithstanding by the law of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If any chance doe so much diminish the number of any of their Cities, that it cannot bee filled vp againe, without the diminishing of the iust number of the other Cities (which they say chanced but twise since the beginning of the Land, through a great pestilent plague) then they fulfill and make vp, the number with citizens fetched out of their owne forraigne townes, for they had rather suffer their forraigne townes to decay and perish, then any Citie of their owne lland to be diminished. But now againe to the conuersation of the Citizens among themselves.

So might we
well be dis-
charged and
eased of the
idle company
of serving
men.

The eldest (as I said) ruleth the family. The wiues be ministers to their husbands, the children to their parents, and to be short the younger to their elders. Euery Citie is diuided into foure equall parts or quarters. In the midst of euery quarter, there is a market place of all maner of things. Thither the workes of euery family be brought into certaine houses. And euery kind of thing is layd vp seuerall in barnes or store houses. From hence the father of euery family, or euery houlholder fetcheth whatsoeuer he and his haue neede off, and carieth it away with him without money, without exchange, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For why should any thing be denied vnto him? seeing there is abundance of all things, and that it is not to bee feared, least any man will aske more then he needeth. For why should it bee thought that that man would aske more then enough, which is sure neuer to lack? Certainly in all kinds of liuing creatures, either feare of lacke doth cause couetousnes and rauine, or in man onely pride, which counteth it a glorious thing to passe & excell other in the superfluous and vaine ostentation of things. The which kind of vice among the Vtopians can haue no place. Next to the market places that

The cause of
couetousnesse
and extortion.

that I ſpeake off, ſtand meate mar-kers : whether bee brought not onely all ſorts of hearbes, and the fruits of trees, with bread, but alſo fiſh, and all manner of four-footed Beaſts, and wilde foule that be mans meat. But firſt the filthineſſe and ordure thereof, is cleane waſhed away in the running Riuer without the Citie in places appointed meet for the ſame purpoſe. From thence the beaſts be brought in killed, and cleane waſhed by the hands of their bondmen : for they permit not their free citizens, to accuſtome themſelues to the killing of beaſts, through the uſe wherof they thinke, clemency the gentleſt affection of our nature by little & little, to decay & periſh. Neither they ſuffer any thing that is filthie, loathſome, or vn-cleanly, to be brought into the Citie, leſt the ayre by ſtench thereof infected and corrupt, ſhould cauſe peſtilent diſeaſes. Moreouer euery ſtreete hath certaine great large hals ſet in equall diſtance one from another, euery one knowne by a ſeuerall name. In theſe hals dwell the Syphogrants. And to euery one of the ſame halles, be appointed thirtie families, on either ſide fiſteene. The ſtewards of euery hall, at a certaine houre come into the meat markets, where they receiue meate according to the number of their hals.

Of the ſlaugh-
ter of beaſts
we haue lear-
ned man-
ſlaughter.
Filth and or-
dure bring the
infection of
peſtilence into
Cities,

But firſt and chiefly of all, reſpect is had to the ſicke, Care, dili-
that be cured in the hospitals. For in the circuite of the gence and
Citie, a little without the wals, they haue foure hospitals, attendance
ſo big, ſo wide, ſo ample, and ſo large, that they may ſeeme about the ſick,
foure little townes, which were deuifed of that bigneſſe,
partly to the intent the ſick be they neuer ſo many in num-
ber, ſhould not lye too throng or ſtrait, and therefore vn-
easily, and incommodiouſly : and partly that they which
were taken and holden with contagious diſeaſes, ſuch as
be wont by infection to creep from one to another, might
be laid a far from the companie of the reſidue. Theſe hos-
pitals be ſo well appointed, and with all things neceſſarie
to health ſo furniſhed, & moreouer ſo diligent attendance
through

through the continuall presence of cunning Physitians is giuen, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sicke person in all the Citie, that had not rather lye there then at home at his owne house. When the steward of the sicke hath receiued such meates as the Physitians haue prescribed, then the best is equally diuided among the halls, according to the company of euery one, sauing there is had a respect to the Prince, the Bishop, the Tranibores, and to Ambassadors and all strangers, if there be any, which be very few and seldome. But they also when they be there, haue certaine seuerall houses appointed and prepared for them. To these halls at the set houres of dinner and supper, cometh all the whole Siphograntie or Ward, warned by the noise of a brazen Trumpet: except such as be sicke in the Hospitals, or else in their owne houses.

Euery man is
at his liber-
tie, so that no-
thing is done
by compulsion.

Howbeit, no man is prohibited or forbid, after the hals be serued to fetch home meate out of the Market to his owne house; for they know that no man will do it without a cause reasonable. For though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly: because it is counted a point of small honestie. And also it were a folly to take the paine to dresse a bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall. In this hall, all vile seruice, all flauerie, and drudgerie, with all laboursome toyle, and drudgerie, with all labourfome toyle, and base businesse, is done by bondmen. But the women of euery family by course haue the office and charge of cookerie for seething and dressing the meate, and ordering all things theretobelonging. They sit at three Tables or moe, according to the number of their companie. The men sit vpon the Bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table, and if any sudden euill should chance to them, as many times happeneth to women with childe, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of any bodie, and goe thence into the nurserie. The nurces sit seuerall

Women both
dresse and
serue the meat.

Nurces

uerall alone with their young sucklings, in a certaine parlour appointed and deputed to the same purpose, neuer without fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they will they may lay downe the yong infants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing cloathes, and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with play. Euery mother is nurse to her owne childe, vnlesse either death, or sicknesse be the let. When that chanceth, the wiues of the Syphogrants quickly prouide a nurse.

And that is not hard to be done. For they that can doe it, proffer themselues to no seruice so gladly as to that. Be-

cause that there this kind of peece is much prayesed: and the childe that is nourished, euer after, taketh his nurse for his owne naturall mother. Also among the nurses, sit all the children that bee vnder the age of fuyeeares. All the other children of both kinds, as well boyes as girles,

Nothing sooner prouoketh men to well doing then praise and commendation.

that be vnder the age of mariage, doe either serue at the tables, or else if they be too yong thereto, yet they stand by with meruailous silence. That which is giuen to them from the table they eate, and other seuerall dinner time they haue none. The Syphogrant and his wife sit in the midst of the high Table, for as much as that is counted the honourablest place, and because from thence all the whole company is in their sight. For that table standeth ouer thwart the ouer end of the hall. To them be ioyned two of the auncientest and eldest. For at euery table they sit foure at a messe. But if there be a Church standing in that Syphograntie, or ward, then the Priest and his Wife sitteth with the Syphogrant, as chiefe in the company.

The education of yong children.

On both sides of them sit yong men, and next vnto them againe, old men. And thus throughout all the house, equall of age be set together, and yet be mixt and matched with vnequall ages.

The yong mixed with their elders.

This, they say, was ordeined, to the intent that the sage grauity and reuerence of the elders should keepe the yongers from wanton licence of words and behauiour. For as much as nothing can be so secretly spoken or done at

Old men re-
garded and re-
uerenced.

This now a-
daies is obser-
ued in our V-
niuersitie.
Talke at Ta-
ble.

This is repug-
nant to the o-
pinion of our
Physicians.
Musicke at the
the table.

Pleasure with-
out harme,
nor commenda-
dable.

the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other, must needs perceiue it. The dishes bee not sette downe in order from the first place, but all the old men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knowne) be first serued of their meate, and then the residue equally. The old men, diuide their dainties as they thinke best to the yonger on each side of them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honour, and neuerthelesse equall commoditie commeth to euery one. They begin euery dinner and supper of reading something that pertaineth to good manners and vertue. But it is short, because no man shall be greued therewith. Heereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sad nor vnpleasant. Howbeit they doe not spend all the whole dinner time themselues, with long and tedious talke, but they gladly heare also the yong men: yea, and purposely prouoke them to talke, to the intent that they may haue a prooofe of euery mans wit, and towardnesse, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shewe and vtter it selfe. There dinners be very short: but their suppers be somewhat longer, because that after dinner followeth labour, after supper, sleepe and naturall rest, which they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without Musicke. Nor their banquets want no conceits, nor iunkets. They burne sweet gummes and spices or perumes, and pleasant smells, and sprinckle about sweet ointments and waters, yea, they haue nothing vndone that maketh for the cherishing of the company. For they be much enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbidden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therefore, and after this sort they liue together in the Citie, but in the Countrie they that dwell alone farre from any neighbours, doe dine at home in their owne houses: For no family there lacketh any victuals, as from whom commeth all that the Citizens eat and liue by.

*Of their iourneying or travelling abroad, with diners
other matters cunningly reasoned, and
wittily discussed.*

BVt if any be desirous to visite either their friends dwelling in another citie, or to see the place it selfe, they easily obtayne licence of their Syphogrants and Tranibores, vnlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sent forth together with their Princes letters, who doe testifie that they haue licence to goe that iourney, and prescribeth also the day of their returne.

They haue a waime giuen them, with a common bondman, which driueth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But vnlesse they haue women in their Companie, they send home the waime againe, as an impediment and let. And though they carry nothing forth with them, yet in all their iourney they lacke nothing. For wherefoeuer they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one day, then there euery one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gently entertaied of the workemen and companies of the same crafts. If any man of his owne head and without leaue, walke out of his precinct and bounds, taken without the Princes letters, he is brought againe for a fugitiue, or a run away with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If any be desirous to walke abroad into the fields, or into the Countrey that belongeth to the same Citie that he dwelleth in, obtaining the good will of his father, and the consent of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the Countrey foeuer he commeth, he hath no meat giuen him vntill he haue wrought out his forenoons task, or dispatched so much worke, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Obseruing this law & condition, he may go whether he will within the bounds of his

O holy common wealth,
and of Christians to be followed.

Equalitie is
the cause that
every man
hath enough.

A common
wealth is no-
thing else but
a great house-
hold.

The traffique
and marchan-
dise of the
Vtapians.

owne Citie. For he shall be no lesse profitable to the City, then if he were within it. Now you see how little libertie they haue to loyter: how they can haue no cloake or pretence to Idlenesse. There be neither wine tauerns, nor ale-houses, nor stewes, nor any occasion of vice or wickednesse, no lurking corners, no places of wicked counsailes or vnlawfull assemblies, but they be in the present sight, and vnder the eyes of euery man. So that of necessitie they must either apply their accustomed labours, or else recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

This fashion and trade of life, being vsed among the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they must of necessitie haue store and plentie of all things. And seeing they be all thereof parteners equally, therefore can no man there be poore or needy. In the counsell of *Amaurot*, whither as I said, euery Citie sendeth three men a peece yearly, as soone as it is perfectly knowne of what things there is in euery place plentie, and againe what things be scant in any place, incontinent the lacke of the one, is performed and filled vp with the abundance of the other. And this they doe freely without any benefit, taking nothing againe of them, to whom the things is giuen, but those Cities that haue giuen of their store to any other Citie, that lacketh requiring nothing againe of the same Citie, doe take such things as they lacke of another Citie, to the which they gaue nothing. So the whole Iland is as it were one familie, or housholde. But when they haue made sufficient prouision of store for themselves (which they thinke not done, vntill they haue prouided for two yeares following, because of the vncertaintie of the next yeares prooffe) then of those things, whereof they haue abundance, they carrie forth into other countries great plenty: as grayne, honey, woll, flax, woode, madder, purple dyes, felles, waxe, tallowe, leather, and liuing beasts. And the seauenth part of all these things they giue franckly and freely to the poore of that countrie. The residue they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this meanes

of

of traffique or marchandise, they bring into their owne countrey, not onely great plentie of gold and siluer, but also all such things as they lacke at home, which is almost nothing but Iron. And by reason they haue long vsed this trade, now they haue more aboundance of these things, then any man will beleene.

Now therefore they care not whether they sell for ready money, or else vpon trust to be payde at a day, and to haue the most part in debts. But in so doing they neuer follow the credence of priuate men: but the assurance or warrantise, of the whole citie, by instruments and writings made in that behalfe accordingly. When the day of payment is come and expired, the citie gathereth vp the debt of the priuate debtours, and putteth it into the common boxe, and so long hath the vse and profit of it, vntill the Vtopians their creditours demand it. The most part of it, they neuer aske. For that thing which is to them is no profit to take it from other, to whom it is profitable, they thinke it no right nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lend part of that money to another people, then they require their debt: or when they haue warre. For the which purpose onely, they keepe at home all the treasure which they haue, to be holpen and succoured by it either in extreame ieopardies, or in suddaine dangers. But especially and chiefly to hire therewith, and that for vnreasonable great wages, strange souldiours. For they had rather put strangers in ieopardie, then their owne countrey men: knowing that for money enough, their enemies themselues many times may be bought and sold, or else through treason be set together by the eares, among themselues. For this cause they keepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure: but so they haue it, and vse it, as in good faith I am ashamed to shew: fearing that my words shall not be beleued. And this I haue more cause to feare, for that I know how difficultie and hardly I my selfe would haue beleued another man telling the same, if I had not presently scene it with mine eyes.

In all things
and about al
things, to the
communitie
they haue
an eye.

By what poli-
cie money may
be in lesse esti-
mation.
It is better
either with
money or by
politic to a-
void warre
then with
much losse of
mans blood to
fight.

O fine wit.

For it must needes be, that how farre a thing is dissanat and disagreeing, from the guise and trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their beleefe. Howbeit, a wife and indifferent esteemer of things, will not greatly meruaile perchance, seeing all their other lawes and customes doe so much differ from ours, if the vse also of gold and siluer among them be applied, rather to their owne fashions, then to ours. I meane in that they occupie not money themselues, but keepe it for that chance, which as it may happen, so it may be, that it shall neuer come to passe. In the meane time, gold and siluer, whereof money is made, they doe so vse, as none of them doth more esteeme it, then the very nature of the thing deserueth.

Gold worfe
then yron as
touching the
necessarie vse
thereof.

And then who doth not plainly see, how far it is vnder Iron : as without the which men can no better liue then without fire and water. Whereas to gold and siluer, nature hath giuen no vse, that we may not well lacke : if that the folly of men had not set it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrary part, nature as a most tender and louing mother, hath placed the best and necessarie things open abroad : as the ayre, the water, and the earth it selfe. And hath remoued and hid farthest from vs vaine and vnprofitable things. Therefore if these metatals, among them should be fast locked vp in some Tower, it might be suspected, that the Prince and the Councell (as the people is euer foolishly imagining) intended by some subtiltie to deceiue the Commons, and to take some profit of it to themselues. Furthermore if they should make thereof plate, & such other finely and cunningly wrought stuffe, if at any time they should haue occasion to breake it, and melt it againe, therewith to pay their souldiours wages, they see and perceiue very well, that men would be loth to part from those things, that they once began to haue pleasure and delight in. To remedie all this they haue found out a meanes, which as it is agreeable to all their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours, where gold

gold is so much set by, and so diligently kept, very farre
 discripant and repugnant : and therefore vncredible, but
 only to them that be wise. For whereas they eate and
 drinke in earthen and glass: vessels, which indeed be cu-
 riously and properly made, and yet be of very small value:
 of gold and siluer, they make chamber-pots, and other
 vessels that serue for most vile vses, not only in their com-
 mon hals, but in euery mans priuate house. Further-
 more of they same mettals they make great chaines, fet-
 ters, and gyues, wherein they tie their bond-men.

O wonderfull
 contumely of
 gold.

Finally, whosoever for any offence be infamed, by
 their eares, hangrings of gold : vpon their fingers they
 weare rings of gold : and about their neckes chaines of
 gold : and in conclusion their heads be tied with gold.
 Thus by all meanes possible they procure to haue gold
 and siluer among them in reproach and infamie. And
 these mettals, which other nations doe as grievously and
 sorrowfully forgoe, as in a maner their owne liues : if
 they should altogether at once be taken from the Vtopi-
 ans, no man there would think that he had lost the worth
 of one farthing. They gather also pearles by the sea side,
 and Diamonds and Carbuncles vpon certaine Rockes,
 and yet they seeke not for them : but by chance finding
 them, they cut and polish them. And therewith they deck
 their yong infants. Which like as in the first yeares of
 their childe-hood, they make much, and be fond and
 proud of such ornaments, so when they be a little more
 growne, in yeares and discretion, perceiving that none
 but children doe weare such toys and trifles : they lay
 them away euen of their owne shamefastenesse, without
 any bidding of their parents : euen as our children, when
 they waxe big, doe cast away nuttes, brouches, and pup-
 pets. Therefore these lawes and customes, which be so
 farre different from all other nations, how diuers fanta-
 sies also and minds they doe cause, did I neuer so plainly
 perceiue, as in the Ambassadors of the Anemolians.

Gold the re-
 proachfull
 badge of infam-
 ed persons.

Gemmes and
 precious
 stones, toys
 for yong chil-
 dren to play
 withall.

These Ambassadors came to *Amanrose* ; whiles I
 was

A very pleasant tale.

was there. And because they came to intreate of great and weightie matters, those three Citizens a piece out of euery Citie, were come thither before them. But all the Ambassadors of the next Countries, which had bene there before, and knew the fashions and maners of the Vtopians, among whom they perceiued no honour giuen to sumptuous apparell, filkes to be contemned, gold also to be infamed and reproachfull, were wont to come thither in very homely and simple array. But the Anemolians because they dwell farre thence, and had very little acquaintance with them, hearing that they were all apparelled alike, and that very rudely and homely, thinking them not to haue the things which they did not weare: being therefore more proud, then wise, determined in the gorgiousnesse of their apparell to represent very gods, and with the bright shining and glistering of their gay cloathing, to dazell the eyes of the silly poore Vtopians.

So there came in foure Ambassadors with one hundred seruants, all apparelled in changeable colours: the most of them in filkes: the Ambassadors themselues (for at home in their owne Countrie they were noble men) in cloath of gold, with great chaines of gold, with gold hanging at their eares, with gold rings vpon their fingers, with brouches and aglets of gold vpon their caps, which glistered full of pearles and precious stones: to be short, trimmed and adorned with all those things, which among the Vtopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproach of infamed persons, or else trifles for yong children to play withall. Therefore it would haue done a man good at his heart, to haue scene how proudly they displayed their peacocks feathers, how much they made of their painted sheathes, and how loftily they set forth and aduanced themselues, when they compared their gallant apparell, with the poore raiment of the Vtopians. For all the people were swarmed forth into the strettes.

And

And on the other side, it was no lesse pleasure to consider how much they were deceiued, and how farre they missed of their purpose being contrary waies taken, then they thought they should haue beene. For to the eyes of all the Vtopians, except verie few, which had beene in other countries, for some reasonable cause, all that gorgiousnesse of apparell, seemed shamefull and reproachfull. Insomuch that they most reuerently saluted the vilest and most abiect of them for lords: iudged them by their wearing of golden chaines to bee bondmen. Yea you should haue fine children also, that had cast away thier pearles and precious stones, when they saw the like sticking vpon the Ambassadors cappes: digge and push their mothers vnder the sides, saying thus to them. Looke mother how great lubber doth yet weare pearles, and precious stones, as though he were a little child still.

O wittie head.

But the mother, yea, and that also in good earnest: peace sonne, saith she: I thinke he be some of the Ambassadors fooles. Some found fault at their golden chaines, as to no vse nor purpose, being so small and weake, that a bondman might easily breake them, and againe so wide and large, that when it pleased him, hee might cast them off, and runne away at libertie whither he would. But when the Ambassadors had beene there, a day or two, and saw so great abundance of gold so lightly esteemed, yea in no lesse reproach, then it was with them in honour: and besides that, more gold in the chaines and gifts of one fugitive bondman, then all the costly ornaments, of them three was worth: they began to abate their courage, and for very shame laid away all that gorgious array, whereof they were so proud. And specially when they had talked familiarly with the Vtopians, and had learned all their fashions and opinions. For they perceiued that any man be so foolish, as to haue delight and pleasure in the doubtful glistering of a little trifeling stone, which may behold any of the starres, or else the sunne it selfe.

Doubtfull hee
call it,
either in con-
sideration and
respect of
counterfeit
stones, or else
he call it
doubtfull very
little worth.

Or that any man is so madde, as to count himselfe the

A true saying
and a wittie.

nobler for the smaller or finer threed of wooll, which selfe same wooll (be it now in neuer so fine spunne threed) a sheepe did once weare : and yet was shee all that time no other thing then a sheepe. They meruaile also that gold, which of the owne nature, is a thing so vnprofitable, is now among all people in so high estimation, that man himselfe, by whom yea and for the vse of whom it is so much set by, is in much lesse estimation, then the gold it selfe. Insomuch, that a lumpish block-head churle, and which hath no more wit then an asse, yea and as full of naughtinesse, as of folly, shal haue neuerthelesse many wise and good men in subiection and bondage, only for this, because he hath a great heape of gold.

Which if it should be taken from him by any fortune, or by some subrill wyle and cautie of the Law, (which no lesse then fortune doth both raise vp the low, and plucke downe the high) and be giuen to the most vile slaue and abiect driuell or all his household, then shortly after he shall goe into the seruice of his seruant, as an augmentation, or ouer-plus beside his money.

How much
more wit is in
the heads of
the Vropians,
then of the
common sort
of Christians.

But they much more meruaile at and detest the madnesse of them, which to those rich men, in whose debt and danger they be not, doe giue almost diuine honours, for none other consideration, but because they be rich : and yet knowing them to be such niggish penny-fathers, that they be sure as long as they liue, not the worth of one farthing of that heape of gold, shall come to them. These and such like opinions haue they conceiued, partly by education, being brought vp in that Common-wealth, whose lawes and customes besafre different from those kindes of folly, and partly by good literature and learning. For though there be not many in euery Citie, which be exempt and discharged of all other labours, and appointed onely to learning, that is to say : such in whom euen from their very child-hood they haue perceiued a singuler towardnesse, a fine wit, and a minde apt to good learning: yet all in their child-hood be instructed in learning. And the

the better part of the people, both men & women through out all their whole life, doe bestow in learning those spare houres, which we said they haue vacant from bodily labours. They be taught learning* in their owne native tongue. For it is both copious in words, and also pleasant to the eare: and for the utterance of a mans mind verie perfect and sure. The most part of all that side of the world, vseth the same language, sauing that among the Vtopians it is finest and purest, and according to the diuersitie of the Countries, it is diuersly altered. Of all these Phylosophers, whose names be here famous in this part of the world to vs knowne, before our comming thither, not as much as the fame of any of them was come among them. And yet in Musique, Logique, Arithmetique, and Geometrie, they haue found out in a manner all that our ancient Philosophers haue taught. But as they in all things be almost equal to our old and ancient clarks; so our new Logicians in subtil inuentions, haue far passed and gone beyond them.

The studies among the Vtopians.

Musique.
Logique.
Arithmetique.
Geometrie.

For they haue not deuised one of all those rules, of restrictions, amplifications, very wittily inuented in the small Logicals, which heare our children in euery place doe learne. Furthermore they were neuer yet able to find out the second inuentions: insomuch that none of them could euer see man himselve in common, as they call him, though he be (as you know) bigger then euer was any gyant, yea & pointed to of vs euen with our finger. But they be in the course of the stars, & the moouings of the heavenly spheares very expert & cunning. They haue also wittily excogitated and deuised instruments of diuers fashions: wherein is exactly cōprehended & conteined the mouings and scituations of the sun, the moon, & of al the other stars, which appeare in their horizon. But as for the amities and dissentions of the planets, & all that deceitfull diuination of the stars, they neuer as much as dreamed thereof. Rains, winds, & other courses of tempests, they know before by certaine tokens, which they haue learned by long vse and obseruation.

In this place seemeth to be a nipping taunt.

Astronomie:

Yet among Christians this geere is highly esteemed in these daies.

Inaturall Philosophie is a knowledge most vncertaine.

Morall philosophie.

The order of good things.

The ends of good things. The Vtopians hold opinion that felicity consisteth in honest pleasure.

The principles of philosophie grounded vpon religion.

The theologie of the Vtopians

The immortalitye of the soule, whereof these daies certaine christians be doubtfull.

obseruation. But of the causes of all these things, and of the ebbing, and flowing, and saltnesse of the sea, and finally of the originall beginning, and nature of heauen and of the world, they hold partly the same opinions that our old Philosophers hold, and partly as our Philosophers vary among themselves, so they also, whiles they bring new reasons of things, doe disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all points they doe not accord. In that Philosophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualities of the soule, of the bodie, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnesse may be applied to all these, or onely to the endowments and gifts of the soule. They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principal question is in what thing, be it one or mo the felicitie of man consisteth. But in this point they seeme almost too much giuen and inclined to the opinion of them, which defend pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefest part of mans felicitie to rest. And (which is more to be marueiled at) the defence of this so daintie and delicate an opinion, they fetch cuen from their graue, sharpe bitter, and rigorous religion. For they neuer dispute of felicitie or blessednesse, but they ioine vnto the reasons of Philosophie certaiue principles taken out of religion: without the which, to the inueltigation of true felicitie, they thinke reason of it selfe weake and vnperfect. Those principles be these and such like. That the soule is immortal: & by the bountifull goodnes of God ordained to felicitie. That to our vertues & good deeds, rewards be appointed after this life, & to our euill deedes punishments. Though these be pertaining to religion, yet they thinke it meete that they should be beleued & granted by proues, of reason. But if these principles were condemned and disanulled, then without any delay, they pronounce no man to be so foolish, which would not doe all his diligence and endeour to obtaine pleasure be it right or wrong, only auoiding this inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure

pleasure should not be a let or hinderance to the bigger : or that he laboured not for that pleasure , which would bring after it displeasure, grieve, and sorrow.

For they iudge it extreame madnesse to follow sharpe and painfull vertue, and not only to banish the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer grieve, without any hope of profit thereof ensuing. For what profit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed ouer all his life vnpleasantly, that is to say, miserably, shall haue no reward after his death ? But now sir, they thinke not felicitie to rest in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honest, and that hereto, as to perfect blessednesse our nature is allured and drawne euen of vertue, whereto only they that be of the contrarie opinion doe attribute felicitie.

As euery pleasure ought not to be imbraced, so grieve is not to be pursued but for vertues sake,

For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be hereunto ordained of God. And that he doth follow the course of nature, which in desiring and refusing things is ruled by reason. Furthermore, the reason doth chiefly and principally kindle in men the loue and veneration of the diuine Maiestie. Of whose goodness it is that we be, and that we be in possibilitie to attaine felicitie. And that secondarily it both stirreth and prouoketh vs to lead our life out of care in ioy and mirth, and also moueth vs to help and further all other in respect of the societie of nature to obtaine and enioy the same.

In this definition of vertue they agree with the Stroycians,

For there was neuer man so earnest and painfull a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, that would so enioyne your labours, watchings, and fastings, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, relieue, to your power, the lack and misery of others, praising the same as a deed of humanitie, and pittie. Then if it be a point of humanity, for man to bring health and comfort to man, and specially (which is a vertue most peculiarly belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the grieve of others, and by taking from them the sorrow and heavinesse of life to restore them to ioy, that is to say to pleasure : which may it not then be said, that nature doth prouoke euery man to doe

The work and effect of reason in man,

But now a
daies some
there be that
willingly pro-
cure vnto
themselues
painfull
griefes, as
though there
in rested some
high point of
religion, where
as rather the
religiously dis-
posed person,
if they happen
to him either
by chance or
else by natural
necessitie
ought patient-
ly to receiue
and suffer
them.

Bargaines and
lawes.

the same to himselfe? For a ioyfull life, that is to say, a pleasant life is either euill: and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onely helpe no man thereto, but rather, as much as in thee lieth, withdraw all men from it, as noy- some and hurtfull, or else if thou not onely must, but also of dutie art bound to procure it to others? why not chiefly to thy selfe? To whom thou art bound to shew as much fauour and gentlenesse as to other. For when nature biddeth thee to be good and gentle to other, she commandeth thee not to be cruell and vngentle to thy selfe. Therefore euen very nature (say they) prescribeth to vs a ioyfull life, that is to say, pleasure as the end of all our operations. And they define vertue to be life ordred according to the prescript of nature. But in that, that nature doth allure and prouoke men one to helpe another to liue merrily (which surely she doth not without a good cause: for no man is farre about the lot of mans state, or condition, that nature doth carke and care for him onely, which equally fauourerh all, that he comprehended vnder the communion of one shape, so me and fashion) verily she commandeth them to vse diligent circumspection, that thou doe not seeke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore their opinion is, that not onely couenants and bargaines made among priuate men, ought to be well and faithfully followed, obserued, and kept, but also common lawes, which either a good prince hath iustly published, or else the people neither oppressed with tyrannie, neither deceiued by fraude and guile, hath by their common consent constituted and ratified, concerning the petition of the commoditie of life, that is to say, the matter of pleasure.

These lawes not offended, it is wisdom, that thou looke to thine owne wealth. And doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy dutie, if thou bearest any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natiue country. But to goe about to let another man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open

open wrong. Contrariwise, to with-draw something from thy selfe to giue to other, that is a point of humanitie, and gentlenesse : which neuer taketh away so much commoditie, as it bringeth againe. For it is recompensed with the returne of benefits, and the conscience of the good deed, with the remembrance of the thankfull loue and beneuolence of them, to whom thou hast done it, doth bring more pleasure to thy minde, then that which thou hast with-holden from thy selfe could haue brought to thy body. Finally (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easie to be perswaded) God recompenseth the gift of a short and small pleasure with great and euerlasting ioy.

The mutuall
recourse of
kindnesse,

Therefore the matter diligently weyed, and considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselves, be referred at the last to pleasure, as their end and felicitie. Pleasure they call euery motion, and state of the body or minde, wherein man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as, not only the senses; but also right reason coueteth whatsoeuer is naturally pleasant, so that it may be gotten without wrong or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painfull labour, euen so those things that men, by vaine imagination doe saine against nature to be pleasant (as though it lay in their power to change the things, as they doe the names of things) all such pleasures they beleue to be of so small helpe and furtherance to felicitie, that they count them a great let and hinderance. Because that in whom they haue once taken place, all his minde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectations.

The definition
of pleasure,

False & counterfeite pleasures.

For there be many things, which of their owne nature containe no pleasantnesse : yea the most part of them much grieue and sorrow. And yet through the peruerse and malicious flickering inticements of leaude and honest

The error of
them that e-
steeme them-
selues the more
for apparels
sake.

honest desires, be taken not onely for speciall and soue-
raigne pleasures, but also be counted among the chiefe
causes of life. In this counterfeite kinde of pleasure, they
put them that I spake of before. Which the better gownes
they haue on, the better men they thinke themselues. In
the which thing, they doe twise erre. For they be no lesse
deceiued, in that they thinke their gown the better then
then they be, in that they thinke themselues the better.

Foolish ho-
nours.

For if you consider the profitable vse of the garment,
why should wooll of a finer spunne threed, be thought
better, then the wooll of a course spunne threed? Yet
they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and
not by their mistaking, aduance themselues, and thinke
the price of their owne persons thereby greatly increas'd.
And therefore the honor, which in a course gowne they
durst not haue looked for, they require, as it were of du-
tie, for their finer gownes sake. And if they be passed
without reuerence, they take it displeasantly and disdain-
fully. And againe, is it not a like madnesse to take a pride
in vaine and vnprofitable honors? For what naturall or
true pleasure dost thou take of an other mans bare head, or
bowed knees; Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or
remedie the phrensie of thy head? In this image of coun-

Vain nobilitie.

terfeit pleasure, they be of meruailous madnesse, which
for the opinion of nobilitie, reioyce much in their owne
conceit. Because it was their fortune to come of such ances-
tours, whose stock of long time had been counted rich (for
now nobilitie is nothing else) specially rich in lands. And
though their ancestours left them not one foot of land, or
else they themselues haue pised it against the walls, yet
they thinke themselues not the lesse noble therefore of
one haire. In this number also they count them that take
pleasure and delight (as I said) in gemmes and precious
stones, and thinke themselues almost gods, if they chance
to get an excellent one, specially of that kinde, which in
that time of their owne Countrey men, is had in highest
estimation.

Pleasure in
precious stones
most foolish.

For

For one kinde of stone keepeth not his price still in all countries, and at all times. Nor they buy them not, but taken out of the gold, and bare, no, nor so neither, vntill they haue made the feller to sweare, that hee will warrant and assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gemme. Such care they take least a counterfeit stone should deceiue their eyes in stead of a right stone. But why shouldst thou not take euen as much pleasure in beholding a counterfeit stone, which thine eye cannot discerne from a right stone? They should both be of like value to thee, euen as to the blinde man.

The opinion and fantasie of people doth augment and diminish the price and estimation of precious stones. Beholders of treasure, not occupying the same.

What shall I say of them, that keepe superfluous riches, to take delectation onely in the beholding, and not in the vse or occupying thereof? Doe they take true pleasure, or else be they deceiued with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrary vice, hiding the gold which they shall neuer occupie, nor peraduenture neuer see him more? And whiles they take care least they shall leese, doe leese it indeede. For what is it else, when they hide it in the ground, taking it both from their owne vse, and perchance from all other mens also? And yet thou, when thou hast hid thy treasure, as one out of all care, hopest for ioy. The which treasure, if it should chance to be stolen, and thou ignorant of the theft, shouldest die ten yeares after: all that ten yeares thou liuedst after thy money was stolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it had beene taken away or else safe as thou ledest it? Truly both wayes like profit came to thee. To these so foolish pleasures they ioyne dicers, whose madnesse they know by heare say, and not by vse. Hunters also, and hawkers.

Hiders of treasure,

A pretie fiction and witte.

For what pleasure is there (say they) in casting the dice vpon a table. Which thou hast done so often, that if there were any pleasure in it, yet the oft vse might make thee wearie thereof? Or what delight can there bee, and not rather displeasure in hearing the barking and howling of dogs? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felt, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge fol-

Dice play.

Hunting and hawking.

Hunting the
basest part of
boucherie a-
mong the V-
topians, and
yet this is now
in the exercise
of most noble
men.

loweth a dogge? for one thing is done in both, that is to say, running, if thou hast pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearing in peeces the beast doth please thee: thou shouldest rather be moved with pittie to see a silly innocent Hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the fierce, the innocent of the cruell and vnmercifull. Therefore all this exercise of hunting, as a thing vnworthy to be vsed of freemen, the Vtopians haue reiected to their bouchers, to the which craft (as we said before) they appoint their bondmen. For they count hunting the lowest, the vilest, and most abiect part of bouchery, and the other parts of it, more profitable, and more honest, as bringing much more commoditie, in that they kill beasts only for necessitie.

Whereas the hunter seeketh nothing but pleasure of the silly and wofull beasts slaughter and murder. The which pleasure in beholding death, they thinke doth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruell affection of minde, or else to be changed in continuance of time into cruelty, by long vse of so cruell a pleasure. These therefore and all such like, which be innumerable, though the common sort of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seeing there is no naturall pleasantnesse in them, doe plainly determine them to haue no affinitie with true and right pleasure. For as touching that they doe commonly moue the sense with delectation (which seemeth to be a worke of pleasure) this doth nothing diminish their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerse and leaud custome is the cause hereof. Which causeth them to accept bitter or sower things for sweet things. Even as women with child in their viciat and corrupt taste, thinke pitch & tallow sweeter than honey. Howbeit no mans iudgement depraued and corrupt, either by sickness, or by custome, can change the nature of pleasure, more then it can doe the nature of other things. They make diuers kindes of pleasures. For some they attribute to the soule, & some

The kindnesse
of true pleasures.

to the bodie. To the soule they giue intelligence, & that delication, that commeth of the contemplation of truth.

Heereunto is ioyned the pleasant remembrance of the good life past. The pleasure of the body they diuide into two parts. The first is, when delectation is sensible felt and perceiued, which many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those parts, which our naturall heate drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drinke. And sometimes whiles those things bee expulsed, and voyded, whereof is in the bodie ouer great aboundance. This pleasure is felt, when wee doe our naturall easement, or when wee bee doing the act of generation, or when the itching of any part is eased with rubbing or scratching. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibiting to any member nothing that it desireth, nor taking from it any paine that it feeleth, which neuerthelesse tickleth and moueth our senses with a certaine secret efficacie, but with a manifest motion turneth them to it. As is that which commeth of musicke. The second part of bodily pleasure they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiet and vpright state of the body. And that truely is euery mans owne proper health, entermingled and disturbed with no griefe. For this, if they be not letted nor assaulted with no griefe, is delectable of it selfe, though it be moued with no externall or outward pleasure. For though it be not so plaine & manifest to the sense, as the greedy lust of eating and drinking, yet neuertheles, many take it for the chiefeest pleasure. All the Vtopians grant it to be a right so- ueraigne pleasure, & as you would say the foundation and ground of al pleasures, as which euen alone is able to make the state and condition of life delectable & pleasant. And it being once taken away, there is no place left for any pleasure. For to be without griefe not hauing health, that they call vn'sensibillie, and not pleasure.

The pleasures
of the body.

Bodily health.

The Vtopians haue long agoe reiected and condemned the opinion of them, which saide that stedfast and quiet health, (for this question also hath bene diligently

debated among them) ought not therefore to be counted a pleasure, because they say it cannot be presently and sensibly perceived and felt by some outward motion. But of the contrary part, now they agree almost all in this, that health is a most soueraigne pleasure. For seeing that in sicknesse (say they) is griefe, which is a mortall enemy to pleasure, euen as sicknesse is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnesse of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you say that sicknesse is a griefe, or that in sicknesse is griefe, for all commeth to one purpose.

For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fire is of heat, truly both waies it followeth, that they cannot be without pleasure, that be in perfect health. Furthermore, whiles we eate (say they) then health, which began to be appaired, fighteth by the helpe of foode against hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by little and little getteth the vpper hand, that same proceeding, and (as we would say) that onwardnesse to the wonted strength, ministreth that pleasure, whereby we be so refreshed. Health therefore, which in the conflict is ioyfull, shall it not be merry, when it hath gotten the victorie? But as soone as it hath recovered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in all the fight it couetted; shall it incontinent be astonied? Nor shall it not know nor imbrace the owne wealth and goodnesse? For where it is said, health cannot be felt, this they thinke is nothing true. For what man walking, say they, feeleth not himselfe in health, but he that is not? Is there any man so possessed with stonish insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleeping sicknesse, that he will not grant health to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other things is delectation, then that which by another name is called pleasure? They imbrace chiefly the pleasures of the minde. For them they count the chiefeest and most principall of all. The chiefe part of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, and conscience

Delectations,
The pleasures
of the minde.

ence of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministrcth, they giue the preheminence to health. For the delight of eating and drinking, and whatsoeuer hath any like pleasantnesse, they determine to be pleasures much to be desired, but no otherwaies then for healths sake. For such things of their owne proper nature be not so pleasant, but in that they resist sicknesse prinily stealing on: Therefore, like as it is a wisemans part, rather to auoid sicknesse, then to wish for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight carefull griefes, then to call for cōfort: so it is much better not to neede this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie grieve. The which kinde of pleasure, if any man take for his felicitie, that man must needs grant, that then he shall be in most felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thirst, itching, eating, drinking, scratching, and rubbing. • The which life, how not only foule and vn honest, but also how miserable and wretched it is, who perceiueth not? These doubtlesse be the basest pleasures of all, as vnpure and vnperfect. For they neuer come but accompanied with their contrary griefes. As with the pleasure of eating, is ioyned hunger, and that after no very equall sort. For of these two, the grieve is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not vntill the pleasure die with it. Wherefore such pleasures they thinke not greatly to be set by, but in that they be necessary. Howbeit they haue delight also in these, and thankfully knowledge the tender loue of mother Nature, which with most pleasant dellectation allureth her children to that, to the necessary vse whereof, they must from time to time continually be forced and driuen. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these daily griefes of hunger and thirst could not be driuen away, but with bitter potions, and sowre medicines, as the other diseases be, wherewith we be sildomer troubled? But bewtie, strength, nimblenesse, these as peculiar and pleasant gifts of nature, they make much off.

The gifts of
Nature.

But those pleasures that be received by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, which nature willet to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuing creature doth behold the fairenesse and the beautie of the world, or is moued with any respect of saouours, but onely for the diuerstie of meats, neither perceiueth the concordant and discordant distances of sounds and tunes) these pleasures. I say, they accept and allow as certaine pleasant reioycings of life. But in all things this cautell they vse, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, which they thinke to follow of necessitie, if the pleasure be vnahonest. But yet to despise the comelinesse of beautie, to waste the bodily strength, to turne nimblenesse into slothishnesse: to consume and make feeble the body with fasting: to doe iniury to health, and to reiect the pleasant motions of nature, vnlesse a man neglect these commodities, whiles he doth with a feruent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the common profit, for the which pleasure forborne, he is in hope of a greater pleasure at Gods hand: else for a vaine shadow of vertue, for the wealth and profit of no man, to punish himselfe, or to the intent he may be able couragiously to suffer aduersity, which perchance shall neuer come to him: this to doe, they thinke it a point of extreame madnesse, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards himselfe, and vnkinde towards nature; as one so disdainig to be in her danger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefits. This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleue that by mans reason none can be found truer then this, vnlesse any godlier be inspired into man from heauen. Wherein whether they beleue well or no, neither the time doth suffer vs to discusse, neither it is now necessarie. For we haue taken vpon vs to shew and declare their lours and ordinances, and not to defend them. But this thing I beleue verily, howsoeuer these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neither a more excellent people, neither a more flourishing

Mark: this
well.

thing Common-wealth. They be light and quicke of body, full of actiuitie and nimblenesse, and of more strength then a man would iudge them by their stature, which for all that is not too low. And though their soyle bee not very fruitfull, nor their ayre very wholesome, yet against the ayre they so defend them with temperate diet, and so order and husband their ground with diligent trauaile, that in no Countrey is greater increase and plentie of Corne and Cattle, nor mens bodies of longer life, and subiect or apt to fewer diseases. There therefore a man may see well, and diligently exploited and furnished, not only those things which husbandmen doe commonly in other Countries, as by craft and cunning to remedy the barrennesse of the ground, but also a whole wood by the hands of the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, and set againe in another place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plentie, but of commodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the riuers, or the cities. For it is lesse labour and businesse to carry graine far by land then wood. The people be gentle, merry, quicke and fine witted, delighting in quietnesse, and when neede requireth, able to abide and suffer much bodily labour. Else they be not greatly desirous and fond of it: but in the exercise and study of the minde they be neuer weary. When they had heard me speake of the Greeke literature or learning (for in Latine there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides Histories and Poets) they made wonderfull earnest and importunate sute vnto me that I would teach and instruct them in that tongue and learning. I began therefore to reade vnto them, at the first truly, more because I would not seem to refuse the labour, then that I hoped that they would any thing profit therein. But when I had gone forward a little, I perceiued incontinent by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easly to fashion their letters, so plainly to pronounce the words, so quickly to learne by heart,

and

The wealth
and description
of the Vtopians.

A wonderfull
aptnesse to
learning in the
Vtopians.

But now most
block-headed
asses be set to
learning, and
most pregnant
wits corrupt
with pleasures.

and so surely to rehearse the same, that I meruailed at it, sauing that the most part of them were fine, and chosen wits, and of ripe age, picked out of the companie of the learned men, which not onely of their owne free and voluntary will, but also by the commandement of the Council, vndertooke to learne this language. Therefore in lesse then three yeares space, there was nothing in the Greeke tongue that they lacked. They were able to read good Authors without any stay, if the booke were not false. This kind of learning, as I suppose, they tooke so much the sooner, because, it is somewhat alliant to them: For I thinke that this Nation tooke their beginning of the Greekes, because their speech, which in all other points is not much vnlike the Persian tongue, keeping diuers signes and tokens of the Greeke language in the names of their Cities, and of their Magistrates. They haue of me (for when I was determind to enter into my fourth voyage, I cast into the ship in the stead of merchandise a prettie fardle of bookes, because I intended to come againe rather neuer, then shortly) they haue, I say of me, the most part of *Platoes* workes, more of *Aristotles*, also *Theophrastus* of plants, but in diuers places (which I am sorry for) vnperct. For whiles we were a ship-boord, a Marmoset chanced vpon the booke, as it was negligently laid by, which wantonly playing therewith, plucked out certaine leaues and tore them in pieces. Of them that haue written the Grammer, they haue only *Lascaris*. For *Theodorus* I caried not with me, nor neuer a dictionarie, but *Hesichius*, and *Dioscorides*. They set great store by *Plutarches* bookes. And they be delighted with *Lucianes* merry conceits and ieafts. Of the Poets they haue *Aristophanes*, *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles* in *Aldus* small print. Of the Historians they haue *Thucydides*, *Herodotus*, and *Herodian*. Also my companion *Tricius Apinatus* carried with him Physicke bookes, certaine small workes of *Hipocrates*, and *Galens Microtechne*. The which booke they haue in great estimation: For though there

there bee almost no nation vnder heauen that hath lesse neede of Phisicke then they, yet this notwithstanding, Phisicke is no where in greater honour. Because they count the knowledge of it among the godliest, and most profitable parts of Philosophie. For whiles they by the helpe of this philosophie search out the secret misteries of nature, they thinke themselves to receiue thereby not onely wonderfull great pleasure, but also to obtaine great thanks and fauour of the authour and maker thereof. Whom they thinke according to the fashion of other artificers, to haue set forth the marueilous and gorgious frame of the world for man, with great affection, inteniuely to behold. Whom onely he hath made of wit, and capacitie to consider and vnderstand the excellencie of so great a worke. And therefore he beareth (say they) more good will and loue to the curious and diligent beholder, and viewer of his worke and marueilour at the same, then hee doth to him, which like a very bruit beast without wit and reason, or as one without sense or moouing, hath no regard to so great and so wonderfull a spectacle. The wits therefore of the Vtiopians inured & exercised in learning, be marueilous quick in the inuention of feats, helping any thing to the aduantge and wealth of life. Howbeit two feats they may thanke vs for. That is, the science of imprinting, and the craft of making paper. And yet not onely vs, but chiefly and principally themselves. For when we shewed to them *Aldus* his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the stuffe whereof paper is made, and of the feat of grauing letters, speaking somewhat more, then we could plainly declare (for there was none of vs, that knew perfectly either the one or the other) they forthwith very wittily coniectured the thing. And where as before, they wrote onely in skins, in barks of trees, and in reedes, now they haue attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And though at the first it proued not all of the best, yet by often assaying the same, they shortly got the feat of both. And haue so brought the matter about,

Phisicke highly regarded.

The contemplation of nature.

that if they had copies of Greeke authors, they could lacke no books. But now they haue no more, then I rehearsed before, sauing that by printing of bookes, they haue multiplied and increased the same into many thousands of copies. Whosoeuer commeth thither to see the land, being excellent in any gift of wit, or through much and long journeying, well experienced and seene in the knowledge of many countries (for the which cause we were very welcome to them) him they receiue and entertaine wondrous gently, and louingly. For they haue delight to heare what is done in euery land, howbeit very few merchant men come thither. For what should they bring thither, vnlesse it were yron, or else gold and siluer, which they had rather carry home again? Also such things as are to be carried out their land, they thinke it more wisdome to carie that geere forth themselues, then that other should come thither to fetch it, to the intent they may the better know the out lands on euery side of them, and keepe in vre the feate and knowledge of sailing.

Of bondmen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and diuers other matters.

A meruailous
equitie of this
nation.

They neither make bondmen of prisoners taken in battaile, vnlesse it bee in battaile that they fought themselues, nor of bondmens children, nor to be short, of any such as they can get out of forreigne countries, though he were yet there a bondman. But either such, as among themselues for heynous offences be punished bondage, or else such, as in the Cities of other lands for great trespasses be condemned to death. And of this sort of bondmen they haue most store.

For many of them they bring home sometimes, paying very little for them, yea most commonly getting them for gramercie. These sortes of bondmen they keepe not onely in continuall worke, and labour, but also in bands.

But

But their owne men they handle hardest, whom they iudge more despeate, and to haue deserued greater punishment, because they being so godly brought vp to vertue in so excellent a common wealth, could not for all that be refrained from misdoing. An other kind of bondmen they haue, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in another Countrey, doth choose of his owne free will to be a bondman among them. These they intreat and order honestly, and entertaine almost as gently, as their owne free citizens, sauing that they put them to a little more labour, as thereto accustomed. If any such, bee disposed to depart thence (which seldome is seene) they neither hold him against his wil, neither send him away with empty hands. The sicke (as I said) they see to with great affection, and let nothing at all passe, concerning either Physicke or good diet, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incureable diseases, they comfort with sitting by them, and to be short, with all manner of helpes that may be. But if the disease bee not onely vncureable, but also full of continuall paine and anguish, then the priests and the magistrates exhort the man, seeing hee is not able to doe any dutie of life, and by ouerliuing, his owne death is noysome and irkesome to other, and grievous to himselfe: that he will determine with himselfe no longer to cherish that pestilent and painefull disease. And seeing his life is to him but a torment, that he wil not be vnwilling to die, but rather take a good hope to him, & either dispatch himself out of that painefull life, as out of a prison, or a racke of torment, or else suffer himselfe willingly to be ridde out of it by other. And in so doing, they tell him he shal do wisely, seeing by his death he shal loose no commodity, but end his paine. And because in that act he shal follow the counsell of the priests, that is to say, of the interpreters of gods wil and pleasure, they shew him that he shall doe like a godly and a vertuous man. They that bee thus perswaded, finish their liues willingly, either with hunger, or else dye in their sleepe without any feeling

Of them that
be sicke.

Voluntary
death.

Of wedlocke.

feeling of death. But they cause none such to die against his will, nor they vse no lesse diligence and attendance about him: beleeuing this to be an honorable death. Else he that killeth himselfe before that the priests and the Counsell haue allowed the cause of his death, him as vnworthy either to be buried, or with fire to be consumed, they cast vnburied into some stinking marrish. The woman is not married before she be eigteene yeares old.

The man is foure yeares elder before he marrie. If eyther the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before their marriage, with an other, the partie that so hath trespassed, is sharply punished. And both the offenders, be forbidden euer after in all their life to marrie: vnlesse the fault be forgiven by the Princes pardon. Both the good man and good wife of the house, where that offence was committed, as being slacke and negligent in looking to their charge, be in danger of great reproach, and infamie. That offence is so sharply punished, because they perceiue, that vnlesse they be diligently kept from the libertie of this vice, few will ioyne together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the life must be led with one, and also all the griefes and displeasures comming therewith patiently be taken and born. Furthermore in choosing wiues and husbands, they obserue earnestly and straightly a custome, which seemed to vs very fond and foolish. For a sad and honest patron sheweth the woman be she maid or widdow, naked to the wooer. And likewise a sage and discreet man, exhibiteth the wooer naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, and disallowed it as foolish. But they on the other part doe greatly wonder at the folly of all other nations, which in buying a colt, whereas a little money is in hazard, bee so charie and circumspect, that though he be almost all bare, yet they will not buy him, vnlesse the saddle and all the harnesse be taken off, least vnder those couerings be hid some gall or sore. And yet in choosing a wife, which shall
be

Though not
very honestly,
yet not vn-
wisely.

be either pleasure or displeasure to them all their life after, they be so rechelesse, that all the residue of the womans body being couered with cloathes, they esteem her scarcely by one hand breadth (for they can see no more but her face) and so to ioyne her to them not without great ieopardie of euill agreeing together, if any thing in her body afterward should chance to offend, and mislike them.

For all men be not so wise, as to haue respect to the vertuous condition of the partie. And the endowments of the body, cause the vertues of the mind more to be esteemed and regarded: yea euen the marriages of wise men. Verily so foule deformitie may be hid vnder those couerings, that it may quite alienate and take away the mans minde from his wife, when it shall not bee lawfull for their bodies to be separate againe. If such deformitie happen by any chance after the marriage is consummate and finished, well, therein no remedy but patience. Euery man must take his fortune well in worth. But it were well done that a law were made whereby all such deceits might be eschewed, and auoided before hand.

And this were they constrained more earnestly to look vpon, because they onely of the nations in that part of the world be content euery man with one wife a piece. And matrimonie is there neuer broken, but by death: except adulterie breake the bond, or else the intollerable wayward manners of either partie. For if either of them finde themselves for any such cause greened, they may by the licence of the Counsell, change and take another. But the other partie liueth euer after in infamie, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the husband to put away his wife for no other fault, but for that some mishap is fallen to her body, this by no meanes they will suffer: for they iudge it a great point of crueltie, that any body in their most neede of helpe and comfort, should be cast off and forsaken, and that old age, which both bringeth sicknesse with it, and is a sicknesse it selfe, should vnkindly, and vnfaithfully be delt withall. But now and then it chan-

Diuorcement.

ceth, whereas the man and woman cannot well agree betwene themselves, both of them finding other, with whom they hope to liue more quietly and merrily, that they by the full consent of them both, be diuorced asunder and married againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the Councell. Which agreeth to no diuorces, before they and their wiues haue diligently tryed and examined the matter. Yea and then also they be loath to consent to it, because they know this to be the next way to breake loue betweene man and wife, to be in easie hope of a new marriage. Breakers of wedlocke be punished with most greuous bondage. And if both the offenders were married, then the parties which in that behalfe haue suffered wrong, being diuorced from the adulterers, be married together, if they will, or else to whom they lust. But if either of them both do stil continue in loue toward so vnkind a bed-fellow, the vse of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partie faultlesse be disposed to follow in toyling and drudgery, the person, which for that offence is condemned to bondage. And very oft it chanceth, that the repentance of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, doth so moue the Prince with pittie & compassion, that he restoreth the bond person from seruitude, to libertie and freedome again. But if the same party be taken estsoones in that fault, there is no other way but death. To other trespasses no prescript punishment is ap-

The decerning
of punishment
put to the discretion of the
Magistrates.

pointed by any law. But according to the hainousnesse of the offence, or contrary, so the punishment is moderated by the discretion of the Councell. The husbands chastice their wiues, & the parents their children, vnlesse they haue done any so horrible an offence, that the open punishment therof maketh much for the aduancemēt of honest maners.

But most commonly the most hainous faults be punished with the incommodie of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no lesse grieue, and to the Common-wealth more profit, then if they should hastily put them to death, and so make them quite out of the way.

For

For there commeth more profit of their labour, then of their death, and by their example they feare other the longer from like offences. But if they beeing thus vsed, doe rebell and kicke againe, then forsooth they bee slaine as desprat and wild beasts, whom neither prison nor chaine could restraine and keepe vnder. But they, which take their bondage patiently, be not left all hopelesse. For after they haue beene broken and tamed with long miseries, if then they shew such repentance, as thereby it may be perceiued that they be foryer for their offence then for their punishment: sometimes by the Princes prerogatiue, and sometimes by the voice and consent of the people, their bondage either is mittigated, or else cleane released and forgiuen. He that mooueth to adultery is in no lesse danger and ieopardie, then if he had committed adulterie in deed. For in all offences they count the intent and pretended purpose as euill, as the act or deed it selfe, thinking that no let ought to excuse him, that did his best to haue no let. They haue singuler delight and pleasure in fooles. And as it is a great reproach to do, to any of them hurt or iniurie, so they prohibit not to take pleasure of foolishnesse. For that, they thinke, doth much good to the fooles. And if any man be so sad & sterne, that he cannot laugh neither at their words, nor at their deeds, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare least he would not intreat them gently and fauourably enough: to whom they should bring no delectation (for other goodnesse in them is none) much lesse any profit should they yeeld him. To mocke a man for his deformitie, or for that he lacketh one part or limme of his body, is counted great dishonesty and reproach, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwisely doth imbraid any man of that as a vice, that was not in his power to eschew. Also as they count and reckon very little wit to be in him, that regardeth not naturall beautie and comelinesse; so to helpe the same with paintings, is taken for a vain & a wanton pride, not without great infamy. For they know euen by very experience,

Motion to adultery punished.

Pleasure of fooles.

Counterfeit beautie.

Sin punished,
and vertue re-
warded.

The inordinate
desire of ho-
nors condem-
ned.

Magistrats ho-
noured.

Few Lawes.

The multitude
of Lawyers in-
perfluous.

perience, that no comelineſſe of beautie doth ſo highly commend and aduance the wiues in the conceits of their husbands, as honeſt conditions and lowlineſſe: For as loue is oftentimes wonne with beautie, ſo it is not kept, preſerued and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They doe not onely feare their people from doing euill, by puniſhments, but alſo allure them to vertue with rewards of honour. Therefore they ſet vp in the Market place the Images of notable men, and of ſuch as haue been bountifull benefactors to the Common-wealth, for the perpetuall memorie of their good acts: and alſo that the glorie and renewne of the auncestors may ſirre and prouoke their poſteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiouſly deſireth promotions, is left all hopeleſſe for euer attaining any promotion as long as he liueth. They liue together louingly: For no Magiſtrate is either haughtie or fearefull. Fathers they be called, and like fathers they uſe themſelues: The citizens (as it is their dutie) willingly exhibit vnto them due honour without any compulſion. Nor the Prince himſelfe is not koowne from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of ſtate, nor by a crowne or diademe royall, or cap of maintenance, but by a little ſheafe of corne caried before him. And ſo a taper of wax is borne before the Biſhop, whereby only he is knowne. They haue but few lawes. For to people ſo inſtruct & inſtitute, very few do ſuffice. Yea, this thing they chiefly re- proue among other actiōs, that innumerable books of lawes and expoſitions vpon the ſame be not ſufficient. But they hink it againſt al right & iuſtice, that men ſhould be bound to thoſe lawes, which either be in number mo then be able to be read; or elſe blinder and darker, then that any man can well vnderſtand them. Furthermore they vtterly exclude and baniſh all Attornies, Proctors, and Sergeants at the Law, which craftily handle matters, and ſubtilly diſpute of the lawes. For they thinke it moſt meet, that euery man ſhould pleade his owne matter, and tell the ſame tale to the Iudge, that he would tell to his man of law. So
ſhall

shall there be lesse circumstance of words, and the truth shall sooner come to light, whiles the Iudge with a discret judgement doth way the words of him, whom no Lawyer hath instrued with deceit, and whiles he beareth out simple wits against the false and malicious circumventions of craftie children. This is hard to be obserued in other Countries, in so infinit a number of blind and intricate lawes. But in *Vtopia* euery man is a cunning Lawyer. For as (I said) they haue very few lawes : and the plainer and grosser that any interpretation is : that they allow as most iust. For all lawes (say they) be made and published only to the intent, that by them euery man shall be put in remembrance of his dutie. But the craftie and subtill interpretation of them (forasmuch as few can attaine thereto) can put very few in that remembrance, whereas the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaning of the lawes is open to euery man. Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be both most in number, and haue most neede to know their duties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made to bring so blind an interpretation vpon it, that without great wit and long arguing no man can discusse it? To the finding out whereof, neither the grosse iudgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in working for their liuings, can suffice thereto. These vertues of the *Vtopians* haue caused their next neighbours and borderers, which liue free and vnder no subiection (for the *Vtopians* long agoe, haue deliuered many of them from tyrannie) to take Magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for fise yeares space. Which when the time of their office is expired, they bring home againe with honour and praise, and take new againe with them into their Countrey.

The intent of
lawes.

These nations haue vndoubtedly very well and holisomly provided for their Common-wealthes. For seeing that both the making and the marring of the weale publique, doth depend and hang vpon the manners of the rulers

and Magistrats, what officers could they more wisely haue chosen, then those which cannot be led from honestie by bribes (for to them that shortly after shal depart thence into their owne countrie, money should be vnprofitable) nor yet be moued either with fauour, or malice towards any man, as being strangers, & vnacquainted with the people? The which two vices of affection and avarice, where they take place in iudgements, incontinent they breake iustice, the strongest and surest bond of a common wealth. These peoples which fetch their officers & rulers from them, the Vtopians call their fellowes. And other to whom they haue bin beneficiall, they call their friends. As touching leagues, which in other places betweene countrie & countrie, be so often concluded, broken and renewed, they neuer make none with any nation. For to what purpose serue leagues, say they? As though nature had not set sufficient loue betweene man & man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for words? They be brought into this opinion chiefly, because that in those parts of the world, leagues betweene Princes bee wont to be kept and obserued very slenderly. For heere in *Euro-pa*, and especially in these parts where the faith and religion of Christ reigneth, the maiestie of leagues is euery where esteemed holy and inuiolable: partly through the iustice and goodnesse of Princes, and partly at the reuerence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promise themselves, but they doe verie religiously performe the same, so they exhort all Princes in any wise to abide by their promises, and them that refuse or denie so to doe, by their pontificall power and authoritie, they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seeme a very reproachfull thing, if in the leagues of them which by a peculiar name be called faithful, faith should haue no place. But in that new found part of the world, which is scarcely so far from vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the moe
and

and holier cerimony the league is knit vp with, the sooner it is broken by some cauillation found in the words, which manytimes of purpose be so craftily put in and placed, that the bands can neuer be so sure nor so strong, but they will finde some hole open to creepe out at, and to breake both league and truth. The which craftie dealing, yea the which fraud and dectir, if they should know it to be practised among priuate men in their bargaines and contracts, they would incontinent cry out at it with an open mouth, and a sowre countenance, as an offence most detestable, and worthy to be punished with a shamefull death: yea euen verie they that aduance themselves authors of like counsaile, is giuen to Princes. Wherefore it may well bee thought, either that all iustice is but a base and a low vertue, and which auaieth it selfe farre vnder the high dignitie of Kings: Or at the least-wise, that there be two iustices, the one meet for the inferiour sort of the people, going a foote and creeping low by the ground, and bound downe on euery side with many bands, because it shall not run at rouders. The other a princely vertue, which like as it is of much higher Maiestie, then the other poore iustice, so also it is of much more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lusteth after. These manners of Princes (as I said) which bee there so euill keepers of leagues, cause the Vtopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all, which perchance would change their minde if they liued heere. Howbeit they thinke that though leagues bee neuer so faithfully obserued and kept, yet the custome of making leagues was verie euill begunne. For this causeth men as though nations which be seperate a sunder, by the space of a litle hil, or riuer, were coupled together by no societie or bond of nature) to thinke themselves borne aduersaries and enemies one to another, and that it were lawfull for the one to seeke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after the leagues bee accorded, friendship doth not grow and increase: But the licence of robbing and stealing doth still

remain, as farre forth as for lacke of fore-sight and aduise-ment in writing the words of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therein sufficiently comprehended. But they be of a contrary opinion. That is, that no man ought to be counted an enemy, which hath done no iniurie. And that the fellowship of nature is a strong league, and that men be better and more si-
 uerely knit together by loue and beneuolence, then by couenants of leagues: by heartie affection of minde, then by words.

Of War-fare.

WARRE or Battell as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beasts in so much vse as to man, they doe detest and abhorre. And contrary to the custome almost of all other nations, they count nothing so much against glory, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore though they doe daily practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of warre, and not onely the men, but also the women vpon certaine appointed daies, lest they should be to seeke in the feare of armes, if need should require, yet they neuer goe to battaile, but either in the defence of their owne Country, or to driue out of their friends land the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the yoake and bondage of tyrannie some people, that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of mere pitie and compassion. Howbeit they send helpe to their friends, not euer in their defence, but sometimes also to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they doe not vnlesse their counsell and aduise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet new and fresh. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrary part will not restore againe such things as be of them iustly demanded, then they be the chiefe authors and makers of the warre. Which they doe not only as oft as by inrodes and
 inuasions

inuasions of souldiers preyes and booties be driuen, but then also much more mortally, when their friends marchants in any land, either vnder the pretence of vniust lawes, or else by the wresting and wrong vnderstanding of good lawes, doe sustaine an vniust accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Neither the battaile which the Vtopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a little before our time, was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete marchant men, as the Vtopians thought, suffered wrong of the Alaopolitans, vnder the pretence of right. But whether it were right or wrong, it was with so cruell and mortall warre reuenged, the Countries round about ioyning their helpe and power to the puitlance and malice of both parties, that most flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewdly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischiftes were not finished nor ended, vntill the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yeilded vp as bondmen into the iurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Vtopians fought not this warre for themselues. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them. So eagerly the Vtopians prosecute the iniuries done to their friends: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise. For if they by couine or guile be wiped beside their goods, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by abstaining from occupying with that nation, vntill they haue made satisfaction. Not for because they set lesse store by their owne Citizens, then by their friends: but that they take the losse of their friends money more heavily then the losse of their owne. Because that their friends merchant men, for as much as that the losse is their owne priuate goods, sustaine great damage by the losse. But their owne Citizens lose nothing but of the common goods, and of that which was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, else had it not bin sent toorth. Therefore no man feeleth the losse.

Victory decre
bought,

And for this cause they thinke it too cruell an act, to reuenge the losse with the death of man, the incommoditie of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his life, nor yet in his liuing. But if it chance that any of their men be in any other Countrie be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a common or a priuate Councel, knowing and trying out the truth of the matter by their Ambassadors, vnlesse the offenders be rendered vnto them in recompence of the iniurie, they will not be appeased: but incontinent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yeelded, they punish either with death, or with bondage. They be not only sory, but also ashamed to achieve the victorie with bloodshed, counting it great folly to buy precious wares too deare. They reioyce and auant themselves, if they vanquish and oppresse their enemy by craft and deceit. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as if the matter were manfully handled, they set vp a pillar of stone in the place, where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of their victorie. For then they glory, then they boast & crack, that they haue plaied the men indeed, when they haue so ouercome, as no other liuing creature, but only man could: that is to say, by the might and puillance of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) beares, lions, boores, wolves dogs, and other wilde beasts doe fight. And as the most part of them doe passe vs in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chiefe and principall purpose in war, is to obtaine that thing, which if they had before obtained, they would not haue moued battaile. But if that be not possible, they take such cruell vengeance of them which be in the fault, that euer after they be affraid to doe the like.

This is their chiefe and principall intent, which they immediately and first of all prosecute, and set forward. But yet so, that they be more circumspect in auoyding and eschewing ieopardies, then they be desirous of praise and renowne. Therefore immediately after that warre is once solemnly

solemnly denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their owne common seale, to be set vp priuily at one time in their enemies land, in places most frequented. In these proclamations they promise great rewards to him that will kill their enemies Prince, and somewhat lesse gifts, but them very great also, for euery head of them, whose names be in the said proclamations contained. They be those whom they count their chiefe aduersaries, next vnto the Prince whom there is prescribed vnto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is doubled to him that bringeth any of the same to them aliue : yea, and to the proclaimed persons themselves, if they will change their mindes, and come into them, taking their parts, they proffer the same great rewards with pardon and suertie of their liues. Therefore it quickly commeth to passe, that their enemies haue all other men in suspicion, and be vnthankfull, and mistrusting among themselves one to another, liuing in great feare, and in no lesse ieopardie. For it is well knowne, that diuers times the most part of them (and specially the Prince himselfe) hath been betraied of them, in whom they put their most hope and trust. So there is no manner of act nor deed that gifts and rewards doe not inforce men vnto. And in rewards they keepe no measure. But remembring and considering into how great hazard and ieopardie they call them, endeavour themselves to recompence the greatnesse of the danger with like great benefits. And therefore they promise not onely wonderfull great abundance of gold, but also lands of great reuenues lying in most safe places among their friends. And their promises they performe faithfully without any fraud or couine.

This custome of buying and selling aduersaries, among other people is disallowed, as a cruell act of a base and a cowardish mind. But they in this behalfe thinke themselves much praise worthy, as who likewise, men by this meanes dispatch great warres without battaile or skirmish. Yea, they count it also a deede of pittie and mercie,

mercie, because that by the death of a few offenders, the liues of a great number of innocents, as well of their owne men, as also of their enemies, be ransomed and saved, which in fighting should haue benee slaine. For they doe no lesse pittie the base and common sort of their enemies people, then they doe their owne: knowing that they be driuen and forced to war against their willes, by the furious madnesse of their Princes and heads. If by none of these meanes the matter goe forward, as they would haue it, then they procure occasions of debate, and dissention to be spread among their enemies. As by bringing the Princes brother, or some of the noble men in hope to obtaine the Kingdome. If this way preuaile not, then they raise vp the people that be next neighbours and borderers to their enemies, and them they set in their necks vnder the colour of some old title of right, such as Kings doe neuer lacke. To them they promise their helpe and ayde in their warre. And as for money they giue them abundance. But of their owne Citizens they send to them few or none: whom they make so much off, and loue so intirely, that they would not be willing to change any of them for their aduersaries Prince. But their gold and silver, because they keepe it all for this onelic purpose, they lay it out frankly and freele: as who should liue euen as wealthislie, if they had bestowed it euery pennie. Yea and besides their riches, which they keepe at home, they haue also an infinite treasure abroad, by reason that (as I said before) many nations be in their debt. Therefore they hire souldiors out of all countries and send them to battaile, but chieflie of the Zapolets. This people, is fise hundred miles from *Prospia* eastward. They be hideous, sauage, and fierce, dwelling in wild woods, and high mountaines, where they were bread and brought vp. They be of an hard nature, able to abide and sustain heate, coid, and labour, abhorring from all delicate dainties, occupying no husbandry nor tillage of the ground, homely and rude both in building of their houses and in their apparel,

parell, giuen vnto no goodnesse, but onely to the breeding and bringing vp of cattle. The most part of their liuing is by hunting and stealing. They bee borne onely to warre, which they diligently and earnestly seeke for. And when they haue gotten it, they bee wondrous glad thereof. They goe forth of their countrey in great companies together, and whosoeuer lacketh souldiers, there they proffer their seruice for small wages. This is onely the craft that they haue to get their liuing by. They maintaine their liues, by seeking their death. For them with whom they be in wages, they fight hardly, fiercely, and faithfully. But they binde themselues for no certaine time. But vpon this condition they enter into bonds, that the next day they will take part with the other side for greater wages, and the next day after that, they will bee readie to come backe againe for a little more money. There be few warres therewith, wherein is not a great number of them in both parties. Therefore it daily changeth, that nigh kinsfolke which were hired together on one part, and there very friendly and familiarly vsed themselves one with another, shortly after being separate into contrary parts, run one against another enuiously & fiercely: and forgetting both kindred and friendship, thrust their swords one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hired for contrary Princes for a little money. Which they doe so highly regard and esteeme, that they will easily bee prouoked to chaunge parts for a halfe-pennie more wages by the day. So quickly they haue taken a smacke in couetousnesse. Which for all that, is to them no profit. For that they get by fighting, immediately they spend needelesse, vnthriftilly and wretchedly in ryot.

This people fighteth for the Vtopians against all nations, because they giue them greater wages, then any other nation will. For the Vtopians like as they seeke good men to vse well, so they seeke these euill and vicious men to abuse. Whom, when neede requireth, with promises

mises of great rewards, they put forth into great ieopardies. From whence the most part of them neuer cometh againe to aske their rewards. But to them that remaine aliue, they pay that which they promised faithfully, that they may be the more willing to put themselves in like danger another time. Nor the Vtopians passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleue that they should do a very good deed for al mankind, if if they could rid out of that world all that foule stinking den of that most wicked and cursed people. Next vnto these, they vse the souldiers of them for whom they fight: and then the helpe of their other friends. And last of all, they ioine to their owne citizens. Among whom they giue to one of tried vertue and powers, the rule, gouernance, and conduction of the whole armie. Vnder him they appoint two other, which whiles he is safe, be both priuate and out of office. But if he be taken or slaine, the one of the other succeedeth him, as it were by inheritance. And if the second miscarry, then the third taketh his roome, least that (as the chance of battaile is vncertaine and doubtfull) the ieopardie, or death of the Captaine should bring the whole armie in hazard. They choose souldiours out of euery Citie, those, which put forth themselves willingly. For they thrust no man forth into war against his wil: because they beleue, if any man be fearefull & faint-hearted of nature, he will not only do no manfull and hardy act himselfe, but also be occasion of cowardnesse to his fellowes. But if any battaile be made against their owne Countrie, then they put these cowards (so that they be strong bodied) in ships among other bold hearted men. Or else they dispose them vpon the wals, from whence they may not flie. Thus what for shame that their enemies be at hand, and what for because they be without hope of running away, they forget all feare. And many times extreame necessitie turneth cowardnesse into p.ouesse and manlinesse. But, as none of them is thrust forth of his Country into warre against his

his will, so women that bee willing to accompany their husbands in time of warre, bee not prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke and exhort them to it with praises. And in set field the wiues doe stand euery one by their owne husbands side. Also euery man is compassed next about with his owne children, kinsfolkes, and alliaunce. That they whom nature chiefly mooueth to mutuall succour, thus standeth together, may helpe one another. It is a great reproach and dishonellie for the husband to come home without his wife, or the wife without her husband, or the sonne without his father. And therefore if the other part sticke so hard by it, that the battell come to their hands, it is fought with great slaughter and blood-shed, euen to the vtter destruction of both parties. For as they make all the meanes and shifts that may bee, to keepe themselves from the necessitie of fighting, or that they may dispatch the battell by their hired fouldiers, so when there is no remedie, but that they must needs fight themselves, then they doe as courageously fall to it, as before, whiles they might, they did wisely auoyde and refuse it. Nor they bee not most fierce at the first brunt. But in continuance by little and little their fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstinate mindes, that they will rather die then giue backe an inch. For that suretie of liuing, which euery man hath at home, being ioyned with no carefull anxietie or remembrance how their posteritie shall liue after them (for this pensiuenesse oftentimes breaketh and abateth courageous stomackes) making them stout & hardy, and disdainfull to be conquered. Moreouer, their knowledge in chiuallrie and feates of armes, putteth them in a good hope. Finally, the wholeiome and vertuous opinions wherein they were brought vp euen frō their childhood, partly through learning, and partly through the good ordinance & lawes of their weale publique, augment and encrease their manfull courage. By reason wherof, they neither set so little store by their liues, that they wil rashly and vnadvisedly

The Captaine
is chiefly to be
pursued, to the
intent the bat-
taile may the
sooner be en-
ded.

cast them away : nor they be not so far in leaue and fond
leue therewith, that they will shamefully couet to keepe
them, when honestly biddeth leaue them. When the bat-
tell is hottest, and in all places most fierce and feruent, a
band of chosen and picked yong men, which be sworne to
liue and die together, take vpon them to destroy their ad-
uersaries captaine. Whom they invade now with priuie
wiles, now by open strength. At him they strike both
neare and farre off. He is assailed with a long and a con-
tinuall assault, fresh men still comming in the wearied
mens places. And seldome it chanceth, vnlesse he leaue
himselfe by flying) that he is not either slaine or else taken
prisoner, and yeeled to his enemies aliue. If they win
the field, they persecute not their enemies with the vio-
lent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them a-
liue, then kill them. Neither doe they follow the chase
and pursuit of their enemies, but they leaue behinde them
one part of their hoast in battaile array, vnder their stan-
dards. Infomuch, that if all their whole armie be dis-
comfited and ouer-come, sauing the rereward, and that
they therewith atchieue the victory, then they had rather
let all their enemies scape, then to follow them out of ar-
ray. For they remember it hath chanced vnto themselves
more then once : the whole power and strength of their
hoast being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their ene-
mies reioycing in the victory haue persecuted them, fly-
ing some one way and some another, a small companie of
their men lying in ambush, there readie at all occasions,
haue suddenly risen vpon them thus disperfed and scatter-
red out of array, and through presumption of safetie, vn-
aduisedly pursuing the chase, and haue incontinent chan-
ged the fortune of the whole battaile, and spite of their
teethes wresting out of their hands the sure and vndoubt-
ed victory, being a little before conquered, haue for their
part conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether
they be craftier in laying an ambush, or wittier in auoy-
ding the same. You would thinke they intend to flie,
when

when they meane nothing lesse. And contrariwise, when they goe about that purpose, you would beleue it were the least part of their thought. For if they perceiue themselves ouermatched in number, or closed in too narrow a place, then they remooue their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some policie they deceiue their enemies, or in the day time they retire backe so softly, that it is no lesse icopardie to meddle with them when they giue backe, then when they presse on. They fence and fortifie their campe surely with a deepe and a broad trench. The earth thereof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudges and slaues a worke about it. It is done by the hands of the souldiers themselves. All the whole Armie worketh vpon it, except them that keep watch & ward in harnis before the trench for sodain aduentures. Therefore by the labour of so many, a large trench closing in a great compasse of ground, is made in lesse time then any man would beleue. Their Armour or harnessse which they weare, is sure and strong to receiue stroakes, and handsome for all moouings and gestures of the bodie, inso-much that it is not vnweildy to swimme in. For in the discipline of their warfare, among other feats they learne to swimme in harnessse. Their weapons be arrowes a-loose, which they shoote both strongly and surely, not only footmen, but also horsemen. At hand stroakes they vsed not swords, but Pollaxes, which be mortall, as well in sharpenesse as in weight, both for foynes and downe stroakes. Engines for warre they deuise and inuent wondrous wittily. Which when they be made they keepe very secret, least if they should be knowne before neede require, they should be bug laughed at, and serue to no purpose. But in making them, herednto they haue chiefe respect, that they be both easie to be carried, and handsome to be moued, and turned about. Truce taken with their enemies for a short time, they doe so firmly and faithfully keepe, that they will not breake it, no, not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doe not waste nor de-

Their Armor.

Of Truces.

stroy their enemies land with forragings, nor they burne not vp their Corne. Yea, they saue it as much as may be from being ouerrunne and troden downe, either with men or horses, thinking that it groweth for their owne vse and profit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, vnlesse he be an Eſpyall. All Cities that be yeelded vnto them, they defend. And such as they winne by force of assault, they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstood and disswaded the yeelding vp of the same, they put to death, the other souldiers they punish with bondage. All the weake multitude they leaue vntouched. If they know that any Citizens counſelled to yeeld and render vp the Citie, to them they giue part of the condemned mens goods. The residue they distribute and giue freely among them, whose helpe they had in the same warre. For none of themselves taketh any portion of the pray. But when the battaile is finished and ended, they put their friends to neuer a penny cost of all the charges that they were at, but lay it vpon their neckes that be conquered. Then they burthen with the whole charge of their expenses, which they demand of them, partly in money, to be kept for like vse of battaile, and partly in lands of great reuenues, to be paid vnto them yearely for euer. Such reuenues they haue now in many Countries. Which by little and little rising of diuers and sundry causes, be increased aboue ſeuē hundred thousand ducates by the yeare. Thither they send forth some of their Citizens as Lieutenants, to liue there sumptuously, like men of honour and renowne. And yet this notwithstanding, much money is sauēd, which commeth to the common treasury: vnlesse it so chance, that they had rather trust the Countrey with the money. Which many times they doe so long, vntill they haue neede to occupy it. And it seldome happeneth, that they demand all. Of these lands they assigne part vnto them, which at their request and exhortation, put themselves in such ieopardies, as I spake of before. If any Prince stir vp war against them, intending to inuade

inuaide their land, they meet him incontinent out of their owne borderers, with great power and strength. For they neuer lightly make warre in their owne Countrey. Nor they be neuer brought into so extreme necessitie, as to take help out of forraine lands into their owne Iland.

Of the Religions in Vtopia.

THere be diuers kinds of religion, not onely in sundry parts of the Iland but also in diuers places of euery citie. Some worship for God, the Sun: some the Moone: some, some other of the Planets. There bee that giue worship to a man that was once of excellent vertue or of famous glory, not onely as God, but also as the chiefest and highest God. But the most and the wisest part (reiecting all these) belecue, that there is a certaine godly power vnkowne, eueralasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre aboue the capacitie and reach of mans wit, dispersed throughout al the world, not in bignesse, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of all. To him alone they attribute the beginnings, the increasings, the proceedings, the changes, and the ends of all things. Neither they giue any diuine honours to any other then to him. Yea all the other also, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this point they agree al together with the wisest sort, in beleueing that there is one principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole world: whom they al commonly in their country language call *Myihra*. But in this they disagree that among some he is counted one, & among some another. For euery one of them, whatsoeuer that is which he taketh for the chiefe god, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only diuine might and maiestie, the sum and soueraintie of all things by the consent of all people is attributed and giuen. Howbeit they all begin by little and little to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitions, & to agree together

in that religion which seemeth by reason to passe and excell the residue. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoe haue been abolished, but that what soeuer vnprosperous thing happened to any of them, as he was minded to change his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thing comming by chance, but as sent from God out of heauen. As though the God, whose honour he was forsaking, would haue reuenged that wicked purpose against him. But after they heard vs speake of the name of Christ, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of the no lesse wonderfull constancie of so many martyrs, whose blood willingly shed, brought a great number of nations throughout all parts of the world into their sect: you will not beleue with how glad minds, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secret inspiration of God, or else for that they thought it nighest vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no small helpe and furtherance in the matter, that they heard vs say, that Christ instituted among his, all things common: and that the same communitie doth yet remaine amongst the rightest Christian companies. Verely howsoeuer it came to passe, many of them consented together in our religion, and were washed in the holy water of Baptisme. But because among vs foure (for no moe of vs was left aliue, two of our company being dead) there was no Priest, which I am right sory for: they being entred and instructed in all other points of our religion, lacke only those sacraments, which none but Priests doe minister. Howbeit they vnderstand and perceiue them, and be very desirous of the same. Yea they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselues, whither without the sending of a Christian Bishop, one chosen out of their owne people, may receiue the order of priesthood. And truly they were minded to choose one. But at my departure thence they had chosen none.

Religious
houses.

They also which doe not agree to Christs religion,
feare

feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath receiued it. Sauing that one of our companie in my presence was sharpely punished. He as soone as he was baptised, began against our wils with more earnest affection, then wisdome, to reason of Christs Religion: and began to waxe so hot in this matter, that he did not onely preferre our religion before all other, but also did vtterly despise and condemne all other, calling them prophane, and the followers of them wicked and deuilish, and the children of euerlasting damnation. When he had thus long reasoned the matter, they laid hold on him, accused him, and condemned him into exile, not as a dispiser of religion, but as a sedicious person, and a rayser vp of dissention among the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes among them: that no man shall be blamed for reasoning in the maintenance of his owne religion. For King *Vtopus*, euen at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were before his coming thither, at continuall dissention and strife among themselves for their religions: perceiuing also that this common dissention (whiles euery seuerall sect tooke seuerall parts in fighting for their Countrey) was the onely occasion of his conquest ouer them all, as soone as he had gotten the victorie. First of all, he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for euery man to fauour and follow what religion he would, and that he might doe the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hastie and contentions rebuking and inueying against other. If he could not be faire and gentle speech induce them vnto his opinion, yet hee should vse no kind of violence, and refraine from displeasent and sedicious words. To him that would vehemently and feruently in this cause strife and contend, was decreede, banishment, or bondage. This law did King *Vtopus* make not onely for the maintenance of peace, which hee saw through continuall contentation & mortal hatred vtterly extinguished.

shed: but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion. Whereof he durst define and determine nothing vniuersally, as doubting whither God desiring manifold and diuers sorts of honour, would inspire sundrie men with sundry kinds of religion. And this surely he thought a very vnmeet and foolish thing, and a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threatnings to agree to the same, that thou beleuest to be true. Furthermore, though there be one religion, which alone is true, and all other vaine and superstitious, yet did he well fore-see (so that the matter were handled with reason, and sober modestie) that the truth of the one power would at the last issue out and come to light. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continually be vsed, as the worst men be most obstinate and stubborne, and in their euill opinion most constant: he perceiued that then the best and holiest religion would be troden vnder foot and destroyed by most vaine superstitions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weeds ouer-growne and choaked. Therefore all this matter he left vndiscussed, and gaue to euery man free libertie and choice to beleue what he would. Sauing that he earnestly and straitly charged them, that no man should conceiue so vile and base an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to thinke that the soules doe die and perish with the body: or that the world runneth at all aduentures, governed by no diuine prouidence. And therefore they beleue that after this life vices be extreamely punished, and vertues bountifully rewarded. He that is of a contrary opinion, they count not in the number of men, as one that hath auailed the high nature of his soule, to the vilenesse of brute beasts bodies: much lesse in the number of their Citizens, whose lawes and ordinances, if it were not for feare, he would nothing at all esteeme. For you may be sure that he will study either with craft priuily to mocke, or else violently to breake the common lawes of his country, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes,

No vile opinion to be conceived of mans worthy nature.

lawes, nor no further hope then of the body. Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honors, excluded from all offices, and reiect from all common administrations in the weale publike.

Irreligious
people secluded
from all hon-
ours.

And thus he is of all sorts despised, as of an vnprofitable, and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit, they put him to no punishment, because they be perswaded, that it is in no mans power to beleue what hee list. No, nor they con-

A verie strange
saying.

straine him not with threatnings to dissemble his minde, and shew countenance contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falshood, and all manner of lies, as next vnto

Deceit and
falshood de-
tested.

fraud, they doe marueilously deieect and abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onely among the common people. For else apart among the priests and men of grautie they doe not onely suffer, but also exhort him to dispute and argue, hoping that at the last, that madnesse will giue place to reason. There bee also other, and of them no small number, which be not bidden to speake their minds, as grounding their opinion vpon some reason, being in their liuing neither euill nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrary to the other. For they beleue that the soules of the brute beasts be immor-

A marueilous
strange opini-
on touching
the soules of
brute beasts.

tall and euerlasting. But nothing to bee compared with others in dignitie, neither ordained and predestinate to like felicitie. For all they beleue certainly & surely that mans blisse shall be so great, that they doe mourne and lament euery mans sicknesse, but no mans death, vnlesse it be on whom they see depart from his life carefully, and against his will. For this they take for a very euill token, as though the soule being in dispaire, and vexed in conscience, through some priuie and secret forefeeling of the punishment now at hand, were afraide to depart. And they thinke hee shall not bee welcome to God, which when hee is called, runneth not to him gladly, but is drawne by force, & sore against his will. They therefore that see this kind of death, doe abhorre it, and them that so die, they bury with sorrow and silence. And when they

To die vnwil-
lingly an euill
token.

A willing and
merry death
not to be la-
mented.

haue prayed to God to be mercifull to the soule, and mercifull to pardon the infimities thereof, they couer the dead corse with earth. Contrariwise, all that depart merrily and full of good hope, for then no man mourneth, but followeth the hearse with ioyfull singing, commending the soules to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reuerence they burne the bodies. And in the same place they set vp a pillar of stone, with the dead mens titles therein grained. When they be come home, they rehearse his vertuous manners and his good deeds. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his merie death. They thinke that this remembrance of the vertue and goodnes of the dead, doth vehemently prouoke & enforce the liuing to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasant and acceptable to the dead. Whom they suppose to bee present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feeble eyesight of mortall men they be inuisible. For it were an inconuenient thing, that the blessed should not be at libertie to goe whither they would. And it were a point of great vnkindnes in them, to haue vtterly cast away the desire of visiting & seeing their friends, to whom they were in their life time ioyned by mutuall loue & amitie. Which in good men after their death, they count to be rather increased then diminished. They beleue therefore that the dead be presently conuersant among the quicke, as beholders and witnesles of all their words and deeds. Therefore they goe more couragiously to their businesse, as hauing a trust and assurance in such ouerseers. And this same beleefe of the present conuersation of their forefathers & ancestors among them, feareth them from all secret dishonestie. They vtterly despise and mocke southsayings & diuinations of things to come, by the flight and voyces of birds, and all other digination of vaine superstition, which in other countries be in great obseruation. But they highly esteeme and worship miracles that come by no helpe of nature, as workes and witnesses of the present power of God.

And

Southsayers
not regarded
nor credited.
Miracles.

And such they say doe chance there very often. And sometimes in great and doubtfull matters, by common intercession and prayers, they procure and obtaine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a stedfast beleefe.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the praise thereof comming, is to God a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affected to religion, that they passe nothing for learning, nor giue their minds to any knowledge of things. But idlenesse they utterly forsake and eschew, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obtained by busie labor & good exercises. Some therefore of them attend vpon the sick, some amend highwaies, cleanse ditches, repaire bridges, dig turfes, grauel, and stone, fell and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne, and other things, into the cities in carts, and serue not only in common workes, but also in priuate labours, as seruants: yea, more then bondmen. For whatsoeuer vnpleasant, hard and vile worke is any where, from the which labour, loathsomnesse, & desperation doth fray other, all that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procuring rest and quiet to other, remaining in continuall worke and labor themselves, not embraiding others therewith. They neither reprove other mens liues, nor glory in their owne. These men the more seruiceable they behoue themselves, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two sects. The one of them that liue single and chaste, abstaining not only from the company of women, but also from eating of flesh, and some of them from all maner of beasts. Which utterly reiecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholly set vpon the desire of the life to come, by watching, waiting, and swearing, hoping shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merry and lustie. The other sect is no lesse desirous of Labour, but they embrace matrimonie, not despising the solace thereof, thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature, without labour and toile, nor towards their native countrey, without procreation of children.

The life contemplation,

The life actiue.

It is not all
one to be wise
and good.

Priests.

Excommuni-
cation.

children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doth nothing hinder them from labour. They loue the flesh of foure-footed beasts, because they beleue that by the meat they be made hardie and stronger to worke. The Vtopians count this sect the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharpe life before the easier life, if herein they grounded vpon reason, they would mocke them. But now forasmuch as they say they be lead to it by religion, they honour and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they call *Bruthescas*, the which word by interpretation, signifieth to vs, men of religion, or religious men. They haue Priests of exceeding holinesse, and therefore very few. For there be but thirteene in euery Citie according to the number of their Churches, sauing when they goe forth to bartell. For then seauen of them goe forth with the armie: in whose steeds so many new be made at home. But the other at their returne home againe, reenter euery one in his owne place: they that be about the number, vntil such time as they succede into the places of the other at their dying, be in the meane season continually in company with the Bishop. For he is the chiefe head of them all. They be chosen of the people, as the other Magistrates be by secret voices, for the auoiding of strife. After their election, they be consecrate of their owne companie. They be Ouerseers of all diuine matters, orderers of religions, and as it were Judges and Masters of manners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them, for dissolute and incontinent liuing. But as it is their office to giue good exhortations and counsell, so it is the dutie of the Prince and the other Magistrates, to correct and punish offenders, sauing that the Priests, whom they finde exceeding vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing any interest in diuine matters. And there is almost no punishment among them more feared. For they runne in very great infamie, and be inwardly tormented

mented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long escape free with their bodies. For vnlesse they by quicke repentance approue the amendment of their liues to the Priests, they be taken and punished of the Councell, as wicked and irreligious. Both child-hood and youth is instructed and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligent to instruct them in learning, then in vertue and good manners. For they vse with very great endeuour and diligence to put into the heads of their children, whiles they be yee tender, and plyant, good opinions and profitable for the conseruation of the Weale publike. Which when they be once rooted in children, doe remaine with them all their life after, and be wondrous profitable for their defence and maintenance of the state of the Common-wealth: which neuer decaieth but through vices rising of euill opinions. The Priests, vnlesse they be women (for that kind is not excluded from Priest-hood, howbeit few be chosen, and none but widdowes and olde women) the men Priests, I say, take to their wiues the chiefeest women in all their Countrey. For to no office among the Vtopians is there more honour and preheminance giuen. Insomuch that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no common iudgement, but be left only to God and themselves. For they thinke it not lawfull to touch him with mans hand, be he neuer so vicious, which after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to God, as a holy offering. This maner may they easily obserue, because they haue so few Priests, and doe choose them with such circumspection. For it scarcely euer chanceth, that the most vertuous among vertuous, which in respect only of his vertue is aduanced to so high a dignitie, can fall to vice and wickednesse. And if it should chance indeed (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so few, and promoted to no might nor power, but only to honour it were not to be feared that any great dammage by them should happen and ensue to the Common-wealth. They haue so rare and few Priests, least if the honour

The Maiestie
and preheminance of
Priests.

were

were communicated to many, the dignitie of the order, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should run in contempt. Specially because they thinke it hard to find many so good, as to be meete for that dignitie, to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficient to be induced with meane vertues. Furthermore these Priests be not more esteemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forreigne and strange Countries. Which thing may hereby plainly appeare. And I thinke also that this is the cause of it. For whiles the armies be fighting together in open field, they a little beside not far off kneele vpon their knees in their hallowed vestiments, holding vpon their hands to heauen : praying first of all for peace, next for victory of their owne part, but to neither part a bloudie victorie. If their host get the vpper hand, they runne into the maine battaile, and restraîne their owne men from sleying and cruelly pursuing their vanquished enemies. Which enemies, if they do but see them and speake to them, it is inough for the safe guard of their liues. And the touching of their cloathes defendeth and saueth all their goods from rauine and spoile. This thing hath advanced them to so great worship and true maiestie among all nations, that many times they haue as well preserved their owne citizens from the cruell force of their enemies, as they haue their enemies from the furious rage of their owne men. For it is well knowne, that when their owne armie hath recoiled, and in despaire turned backe, and run away, their enemies fiercely pursuing with slaughter and spoile, then the Priests comming betweene haue staied the murder, and parted both the hoasts. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betweene both parts vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they had them in such reuerence, that they counted their bodies hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently and vnreuerently touched. They keepe holy the first and last day of euery Moneth and yeare, diuiding the
 yeare

The obseruation of holy daies among the Vtropians.

yeare into Moneths, which they measure by the course of
 the Moone, as they doe the yeare by the course of the
 Sunne. The first daies they call in their language Cine-
 mernes, and the last Tapermernes, the which words may
 be interpreted, Primifest and Finifest, or else in our speech,
 first feast and last feast. Their Churches be very gorgeous,
 not only of fine and curious workmanship, but also (which
 in the fewnesse of them was necessarie) very wide and
 large, and able to receive a great company of people. But
 they be all somewhat darke. Howbeit that was not done
 through ignorance in building, but as they say, by the
 counsell of the Priests. Because they thought that over-
 much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in
 dimme and doubtfull light they be gathered together, and
 more earnestly fixed vpon religion and deuotion: which
 because it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet
 all the kinds and fashions of it, though they be sundrie
 and manifold, agree together in the honour of diuine na-
 ture, as going diuers waies to one ende: therefore no-
 thing is seene nor heard in the Churches, but that seemeth
 to agree indifferently with them all. If there be a distinct
 kind of sacrifice peculiar to any seuerall sect, that they ex-
 ecute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrific-
 es be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor preiudice
 to any of the priuate sacrifices and religions. I here-
 fore no Image of any God is seene in the Church, to
 the intent it may be free for euery man to conceiue God
 by their religion after what likenesse and similitude they
 will. They call vpon no peculiar name of God, but on-
 ly *Mythra*. In the which word they all agree toge-
 ther in one nature of the diuine Maiestie whatsoeuer it
 be. No prayers be vsed but such as euery man may bold-
 ly pronounce without the offending of any sect. They
 come therefore to the Church, the last day of euery mo-
 neth and yeare in the euening, yet fasting, there to giue
 thanks to God for that they haue prosperously passed
 ouer the yeare or moneth, whereof that holy day is

Their Chur-
 ches.

Churches of a
 dimmelight,
 and a reason
 why.

the last day. The next day they come to the Church early in the morning, to pray to God that they may haue good fortune and succeſſe all the new yeare or moneth, which they doe uſe to begin of that ſame holy day. But in the holy daies that be the laſt daies of the moneths and yeares, before they come to the Church, the wiues fall downe proſtrate before their husbands feet at home, and the children before the feet of their parents, confeſſing and acknowledging themſelues offenders either by ſome actuall deed, or by commiſſion of their duty, and deſire pardon for their offence. Thus if any cloude of priuie diſpleaſure was riſen at home, by this ſatiſfaction it is ouer-blowne, that they may be preſent at the ſacrifices with pure and charitable minds. For they be afraid to come there with troubled conſciences. Therefore if they know themſelues to beare any hatred or grudge towards any man, they preſume not to come to the ſacrifices, before they haue reconciled themſelues and purged their conſciences, for feare of great vengeance and puniſhment for their offence. When they be come thither, the men goe into the right ſide of the Church, and the women into the left ſide. There they place themſelues in ſuch order, that all they which be of the male-kind in euery houſhold, ſit before the good man of the houſe; and they of the female kind before the good wiſe. Thus it is fore-ſeene, that all their geſtures and behauiours be marked and obſerued abroad of them, by whoſe authoritie and diſcipline they be gouerned at home. This alſo they diligently ſeevnto, that the yonger euermore be coupled with his elder, leaſt children being ioyned together, they ſhould paſſe ouer the time in childiſh wantonneſſe, wherein they ought principally to conceiue a religious and deuout feare towards God: which is the chiefe and almoſt the only incitation to vertue. They kill no liuing beaſt in ſacrifice, nor they thinke nor that the mercifull clemencie of God doth dwell in bloud and ſlaughter, which hath giuen life to beaſts to the intent they ſhould liue. They burne frankenſence, and other

An order for
place in the
Church,

Ceremonies.

other sweet saouours, and light also a great number of wax candles and tapers, not supposing this geere to be any thing auailable to the diuine nature, as neither the prayers of men. But this vnhurtfull and harmlesse kind of worship pleaseth them. And by these sweet saouours and lights, and other such ceremonies men feelee themselues secretly lifted vp, and encouraged to deuotion with more willing and feruent hearts. The people weareth in the Church white apparell. The Priest is cloathed in chaungeable colours, which in workmanship be excellent, but in stufte not very precious. For their vestments be neither embroidered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so finely and cunningly with diuers feathers of fowles, that the estimation of no earthly stufte is able to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore, in these birds feathers, and in the due order of them, which is obserued in their setting, they say, is contained certaine diuine misteries. The interpretation whereof knowne, which is diligently taught by the Priests, they be put in remembrance of the bountifull benefits of God toward them, and of the loue and honour which of their behalfe is due to God: and also of their duties one toward another. When the Priest first commeth out of the Vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent euery one reuerently to the ground, with so still silence, that the very fashion of the thing striketh into them a certaine feare of God, as though he were there personally present. When they haue lien a little space on the ground, the Priest giueth them a signe to rise. Then they sing praises vnto God, which they intermixt with instruments of musicke, for the most part of other fashions then these that we vse in this part of the world. And like as some of ours be much sweeter then theirs, so some of theirs doe farre passe ours. But in one thing doubtlesse they goe exceeding farre beyonde vs. For all their musicke both that they play vpon instruments, and that they sing with mans voice, doth so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune

Their Church
Musicke.

Prayers.

is so applied and made agreeable to the thing, that whether it be a prayer, or else a dutie of gladnesse, of patience, of trouble, of mourning, or of anger: the fashion of the melodie doth so represent the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfully moue, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers minds. At the last, the people and the Priest together, rehearse solemne prayers in words, expressly pronounced, so made, that euery man may priuately apply to himselfe that which is commonly spoken of all. In these prayers euery man recogniseth, and knowledgeth God to be his maker, his governour, and the principall cause of all other goodnesse, thanking him for so many benefits received at his hand. But namely that through the fauour of God he hath chanced into that publike weale, which is most happy and wealthie, and hath chosen that religion which he hopeth to be most true. In the which thing if he doe any thing erre, or if there be any other better then either of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth him that he will of his goodnes let him haue knowledge thereof, as one that is readie to follow what way soeuer he will leade him. But if this forme and fashion of a Common-wealth be best, and his owne Religion most true and perfect, then he desireth God to giue him a constant stedfastnesse in the same, and to bring all other people to the same order of liuing, and to the same opinion of God, vnlesse there be any thing that in this diuersitie of Religions doth delight his vnsearchable pleasure. To bee short, he prayeth him that after his death hee may come to him. But how soone or late that he dare not assigne nor determine. Howbeit, if it might stand with his Maiesties pleasure, hee would bee much gladder to die a painetull death and so to goe to God, then by long liuing in worldly prosperitie to bee away from him. When this prayer is said, they fall downe to the ground againe and a little after they rise vp and go to dinner. And the residue of the day they passe ouer in playes, and exercise of chiuallrie. Now I haue declared and described vnto you

you as truly as I could the forme and order of that Common-wealth, which verily in my iudgement is not onely the best, but also that which alone of good right may claime and take vpon it the name of a common-wealth or publike weale. For in other places they speake still of the common-wealth. But euery man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Heere where nothing is priuate, the common affaires be earnestly looked vpon. And truly on both parts they haue good cause so to doe as they doe. For in other countries who knoweth not that hee shall starue for hunger, vnlesse he make some seuerall prouision for himselfe, though the Common-wealth flourish neuer so much in riches? And therefore hee is compelled euen of very necessitie to haue regarde to himselfe, rather then to the people, that is to say, to others. Contrariwise, there where all things bee common to euery man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lacke any thing necessary for his priuate vses, so that the common store houses and barnes bee sufficiently stored. For there nothing is distributed after a niggish sort, neither there is any poore man or begger. And though no man haue any thing, yet euery man is rich. For what can be more rich, then to liue ioyfull and merily, without all grieve and pensueneffe: Not caring for his owne liuing, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complaints, nor dreading pouertie to his sonne, nor sorrowfull for his daughters dowrie. Yea they take no care at all for the liuing and wealth of themselves and all theirs, and their wiuers, their children, their nephewes, their childrens children, and all the succession that euer shall followe in their posteritie. And yet besides this, there is no lesse prouision for them that were once labourers, and be now weake and impotent, then for them that doe now labour and take paine. Heere now would I see, If any man dare be so bolde as to compare with the equity, the iustice of other Nations. Among whom, I forsake God, if I can finde any signe or token of equitie and iustice. For

what iustice is this, that a rich Gold-smith, or an vsurer, or to bee short, any of them, which either doe nothing at all, or else that which they doe is such, that it is not very necessary to the Common wealth, should haue a pleasant and a wealthie liuing, either by idlenesse, or by vnecessary businesse: When in the meane time poore lobourers, carters, iron-smithes, carpenters, and ploughmen, by so great and continuall toyle, as drawing and bearing beasts bescant able to sustaine, and againe so necessary toyle, that without it no common wealth were able to continue and endure one yeere, should yet get so hard and poore a liuing, and liue so wretched and miserable a life, that the state and condition of the labouring beast may seeme much better and welthier? For they bee not put to so continuall labour, nor thier liuing is not much worse: yea, to them much pleasanter, taking no thought in the meane season for the time to come. But these sillie poore wretches bee presently tormented with barraine and vnfruitfull labour. And the remembrance of their poore indigent and beggerly olde age killeth them vp. For their dayly wages is so little, that it will not suffice for the same day, much lesse it yeeldeth any ouerplus, that may daily bee laide vp for the releefe of olde age. Is not this an vniust, and an vnkinde publique weale, which giueth great fees and rewards to gentlemen, as they call them, and to gold-smithes, and to such other, which bee either idle persons, or else onely flatterers, and deuisers of vaine pleasures: And of the contrarie part, maketh no gentle prouision for poore plowmen, colliers, labourers, iron-smithes, and carpenters: without whom no common wealth can continue? But after it hath abused the labourers of their lustie and flowring age, at the last when they bee oppressed with olde age and sicknesse, being needie, poore, and indigent of all things, then forgetting their so many painefull warchings, not remembering their so many and so great benefits, recompenseth and

and acquainteth them most vnkindly, with miserable death. And yet besides this, the rich men not onely by priuate fraud, but also by common lawes, doe euery day pluck and snatch away from the poore, some part of their daily liuing. So whereas it seemed before vniust to repentance with vnkindnesse their paines, that they haue beene beneficiall to the common-weale, now they haue to their wrong and vniust dealing (which is yet a much worse poynt) giuen the name of iustice, yea, and that by force of a law. Therefore when I consider and weigh in my minde all these common-wealths, which now a daies any where doe flourish, so God helpe mee, I can perceiue nothing but a certaine conspiracy of rich men procuring their owne commodities, vnder the name and title of the common-wealth. They inuent and deuise all meanes and crafts, first how to keepe safely without feare of loosing, that they haue vniustly gathered together: and next how to hire and abuse the worke and labor of the poore for as little money as may be. These deuises when the rich men haue decreed to be kept and obserued vnder colour of the communalitie, that is to say, also of the poore people, then they be made lawes. But these most vicious and wicked men, when they haue by their vsatiablenesse couetousnesse deuised among themselues all those things, which would haue sufficed all men, yet how farre bee they from the wealth and felicitie of the Vtopian Common-wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the vse thereof is vtterly secluded and banished, how great a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occasion of wickednes and mischief is pulled vp by the roote? For who knoweth not that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarrelling, brabbling, strife, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by dayly punishments are rather reuenged then refrained, doe die when money dyeth? And also that feare, griefe, care, labours, and watching, doe perish euen the verie same moment that money perisheth? Yet pouertie it selfe, which onely seemed to lacke.

Contempt of
money.

lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanish away. And that you may perceiue this more plainly, consider with your selues some barren and vnfruitfull yeare, wherein many thousands of people haue starued for hunger: I dare be bold to say, that in the end of that penury so much corne or graine might haue beene found in rich mens barnes, if they had beene searched, as being diuided among them whom famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at all should haue felt that plague and penury. So easily might men get their liuing, if that same worthy Princeesse ladie money did not alone stoppe vp the way betweene vs and our liuing, which a Gods name was very excellently deuised and inuented, that by her the way thereto should be opened. I am sure the rich men perceiue this, nor they be not ignorant how much better it were to lacke no necessarie thing, then to abound with ouermuch superfluitie: to be rid out of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be besieged and encombred with great riches. And I doubt not that either the respect of euery mans priuate commoditie, or else the

A meruailous
saying. wisedome of our Sauour Christ (which for his great wisedome could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnesse could not but counsell to that which he knew to the best) would haue brought all the world long agoe into the lawes of this Weale publike, if it were not the one only best: the princeesse and mother of all mischief Pride, doth with-stand and let it. She measureth not wealth and prosperitie by her owne commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other: she would not by her good will be made a goddesse, if there were no wretches left, ouer whom she might like a scornfull Lady rule and triumph, ouer whose miseries her felicities might shine, whose pouertie she might vexe, torment and encrease, by rigorously setting forth her riches. This hel-hound creepeth into mens hearts, and pulleth them backe from entring the right path of life, and is so deeply rooted in mens breasts, that she cannot be pulled out.

Pride.

out. This forme and fashon of a Weale publike, which I would gladly wish vnto all Nations, I am glad yet that it chanced to the Vtopians, which haue followed those institutions of life, whereby they haue laid such foundations of their Common-wealth, as shall continue and last not only wealthy, but also as farre as mans wit may iudge and coniecture, shall endure for euer. For, seeing the chiefe causes of ambition and sedition, with other vices, be plucked vp by the roots, and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of domesticall dissention, which alone hath cast vnderfoot and brought to nought the well-fortified and strongly defenced wealth and riches of many Cities. But for as much as perfect concord remaineth, and wholsome lawes be executed at home, the enuie of all forreine Princes be not able to shake or mooue the Empire, though they haue many times long agoe gone about to do it, being euermore driuen backe. Thus when *Raphael* had made an end of his tale, though many things came to my minde, which in the maners and lawes of that people, seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, but only in the fashon of their chiuallric, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principall foundation of all their ordinances; that is to say, in the communitie of their life and liuing, without any occupying of money, by the which thing only all nobility, magnificence, worship, honour, and maiestie, the true ornaments and honours, as the common opinion is, of a Common-wealth, vterly be ouerthrowne and destroyed: yet because I knew that he was weary of talking, and was not sure whether he could abide that any thing should be said against his mind: specially remembering that he had reprehended this fault in other, which be afraid lest they should seeme not to be wise enough, vnles they could finde some fault in other mens inuentions: therefore I praising both their institutions and his communication, tooke him by the hand, and led him into supper, saying that we would

T

chooſe

choose another time to weigh and examine the same matters, and to talke with him more at large therein. Which would God it might once come to passe. In the meane time, as I cannot agree and consent to all things that he said, being else without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldly matter exactly and profoundly experienced: so must I needs confesse and grant, that many things be in the Vtopian Weale publike, which in our Cities I may rather wish for, then hope after.

Thus ended the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythloday, concerning the Lawes and Institutions of the Island of Vtopia.

FINIS.

The Epistle.

139

To the Right Honourable HIEROME BUSLYDE,
prouost of *Arienum*, and Counsellor of the Catholike
King CHARLES, Peter Giles Citizen of *Antwerpe*,
wisheth health and felicitie.

THomas Moore the singular ornament of this our age,
as you your selfe (right honourable Buslyde) can wit-
nesse, to Whom he is perfectly Well knowne, sent unto
me this other day, the Iland of Vtopia, to very few
as yet knowne, but most worthy, which as far excellling Plato's
Common-wealth, all people should be Willing to know: specially
of a man most eloquent so finely set forth, so cunningly painted
out, and so euidently subiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it,
me thinketh that I see somewhat more, then when I heard Ra-
phael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke as
well as Master Moore) uttering and pronouncing his owne
words: yea, though the same man, according to his pure elo-
quence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plain-
ly enough appeare, to report not things, which he had learned of
others only by hearesay, but which he had with his owne eyes
presently seene, and thorowly viewed, and wherein he had no
small time bene conuersant and abiding: a man truly in mine
opinion, as touching the knowledge of Religions, peoples, and
worldly experience, much passing. yea euen the very famous
and renowned trauctler Vliſſes: and indeed such a one, as for
the space of these 800 yeares past, I thinke nature into the
World brought not forth his like: in comparison of Whom, Ve-
spuce may be thought to haue seen nothing. Morcouer, where-
as we be wont more effectually and pitifully to declare and ex-
presse things that we haue seene, then which we haue but only
heard: there was besides that in this man, a certaine peculiar
grace, and singular dexteritie to discerne and set forth a mat-
ter withall. Yet the selfe-same things as oft as I behold and
consider them drawne and painted out with Master Moores
pensill, I am therewith so moued, so delighted, so inflamed,
and so apt, that sometime me think I am presently conuersant,
euen in the Iland of Vtopia. And I promise you, I can scaut

The Epistle.

beleue that Raphael himselfe by all that five yeares space that he was in Vtopia abiding, saw there so much, as heere in master Moores discription is to bee seene and perceined. Which discription, with so many wondrous, and miraculous things is replenished, that I stand in great doubt, whereat first and chiefly to muse or meruaile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and sure memorie, which could welnigh word by word rehearse so many things once onely heard: or else at his singular prudence, who so well and Wittily marked and bare away all the originall causes & fountaines (to the vulgar people commonly most unknowne) wherof both issueth & springeth the mortal confusion and viter decay of a common wealth, and also the auancement & wealthy state of the same may rise and grow: or else at the efficacie & pith of his words, which in so fine a latin stile, with such force of eloquence hath couched together and comprised so many & diuers matters, specially being a man continually incombred with so many busie & troublesome cares, both publique, & priuat, as he is. Howbeit, at these things cause you litle to marueile (right honorable Bullid) for that you are familiarly and thoroughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost diuine wit of the man. But now to proceede to other matters, I surely know nothing needful or requisit to be adioyned vnto his writings: Only a meter of foure verses Written in the Vtopian tongue, which after master Moores departure, Hythloday by chance shewed me: that I haue caused to be added thereto, with the Alphabet of the same nation, and haue also garnished the margeant of the booke with certaine notes. For as touching the scituation of the Island, that is to say, in what part of the World Vtopia standeth, the ignorance & lacke wherof not a litle troubleth and greenueth master Moore, in deed Raphael left not that vnspoken off: Howbeit with verie few words he lightly touched it, incidently by the way passing it ouer, as meaning of likelyhood to keepe and reserue that to another place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certaine euil and unluckie chance escaped vs both. For when Raphael was speaking thereof, one of master Moores seruants came to him, & whispered in his eare. Wherfore I being then of purpose

The Epistle.

pose more earnestly addist to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, & think, a ship-bord, couched out so loud, that he tooke from my hearing certain of his words. But I wil neuer stint, nor rest, until I haue got the full & exact knowledge hereof: insomuch that I will be able perfectly to instruct you, not only in the longitude or true meridian of the Island, but also in the iust latitude thereof: that is to say, in the subleuation or height of the pole in that Region, if our friend, Hythloday be in safety and aliuē. For we heare very vncertaine newes of him. Some report, that he died in his iourney homeward. Some again affirm, that he returned into his country, but partly, for that he could not away with the fashions of his country folke, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether set and fixed upon Vtopia: they say that he hath taken his voyage thitherward againe. Now as touching this, that the name of this Island is nowhere found among the old and ancient cosmographers, this doubt Hythloday himselfe very wel dissolued. For Why, it is possible inough (quoth he) that the name, which it had in old time, was afterward changed, or else that they neuer had knowledge of this Island: forasmuch as now in our time diuers lands be found, which to the old Geographers were unknowne. Howbeit, what needeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with arguments, seeing Master Moore is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, indeed herein I both comment, & also acknowledge the mans modesty. Howbeit, unto mee it seemeth a worke most unworthy to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abroad into the hands of men: yea, & under the title of your name, to be published to the world, either because the singular endowments and qualities of master Moore be to no man better knowne then to you: or else because no man is more fit and meete then you, with good counsels to further, & aduance the common-wealth, wherein you haue many yeeres already continued and trauelled with great glory and commendations, both for wisdom and knowledge, and also of integritie and uprightnesse. Thus a liberall supporter of good learning, and floure of this our time, I bid you most heartily well to fare.

A meter of foure verses in the Vtopian tongue,
briefly touching as well the strange beginning, as
also the happie and wealthie continuance
of the same Common-wealth.

VTopus ha *Boccas penla chama polta chanaan.*
Bargol he maglami Baccan soma gimnosophaon
Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilemin.
Tolmala barchin beman la lauoluala aramme pagloni.

Which Verses the Translator, according to his simple
knowledge, and meane vnderstanding in the Vtopian
tongue, hath thus rudely englished.

MY King and conquerour *Vtopus* by name,
A Prince of much renowne and immortall fame,
Hath made me an Ile that erst no lland was,
Full fraught with worldly wealth, with pleasure & sollace.
I one of all other without Philosophie,
Haue shaped for man a Philosophicall Citie.
As mine, I am nothing dangerous to impart,
So better to receiue, I am readie with all my heart.

A short meter of *Vtopia*, written by *Anemolius* Poet
Laureat, and nephew to *Hythloday* by his sister.

ME *Vtopie* cleped Antiquitie,
Voide of haunt and harbrough.
Now am I like to *Plato's* Citie,
Whose fame flyeth the World through.
Yea like, or rather more likely,
Plato's platte to excell and passe,
For what *Plato's* penne hath platted bricfly,
In naked words, as in a glasse,
The same haue I performed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treasure fitly.
Wherefore not *Vtopie*, but rather rightly
My name is *Entopie*: A place of felicitie.

Gerard

Gerard Noniome of Vtopia.

DOth pleasure please? then place thee here, and well
thee rest,
Most pleasant pleasures thou shalt finde here,
Doth profit ease? then here arrive, this Ile is best.
For passing profits doe here appeare.
Doth both thee tempt, and wouldest thou gripe both
gaine and pleasure?
This Ile is fraught with both bounteously.
To still thy greedy intent, reape here incomparable trea-
sure.
Both minde and tongue to garnish richly.
The hid Wells and Fountaines both of vice and vertue,
Thou hast them here subiect vnto thine eye.
Bethankfull now, and thanks where thanks be due,
Giue to *Thomas Moore* Londons immortall glory.

Cornelius Graphey to the Reader.

VWilt thou know what wonders strange be in the
land that late was found?
Wilt thou learne thy life to lead, by diuers waies
that godly be?
Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderstand the very
ground?
Wilt thou see this wretched world how full it is of va-
nitie?
Then reade, and marke, and beare in minde, for thy be-
hoofe as thou may best:
All things that in this present worke, that worthy clarke
sir *Thomas Moore*,
With wit diuine full learnedly, vnto the world hath
plainly exprest:
In whom London well glory may, for wisdome and for
godly lore.